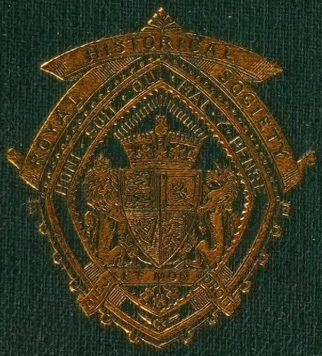
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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered 14 *February*, 1935

By Professor F. M. Powicke, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A.

Guy de Montfort (1265–71)

This afternoon I invite you to follow me along a bypath which gives access to wide prospects. I have recently had occasion to investigate the history of Simon de Montfort's family after the battle of Evesham. I do not intend to-day to tell an old story, but to try to give to it, or rather to draw from it, the significance which it seems to possess. The most important documents are accessible in printed books or have been noted by M. Bémont in his *Simon de Montfort*, and by Dr. Robert Davidsohn in his great *Geschichte von Florenz*. But Bémont compresses the story and treats it as an appendix to the life of Earl Simon, and Davidsohn is concerned with it as the historian of an Italian city. Both historians seem to me to have overlooked the importance of some pieces of evidence.[1] The best-proportioned and most touching narrative is still that of Reinhold Pauli (1867), and there is much valuable material

[1] It should be noted that, although M. Bémont, in the English edition of his book (Oxford, 1930), uses the important essay in Davidsohn's *Forschungen*, he does not use the equally suggestive material noted by Davidsohn in the course of his *History*.

in William Henry Blaauw's book on *The Baron's War* (1844, 1871). Blaauw's book is now unduly neglected. One might say of it, as one of their successors gracefully said of the work done by Warburton and Samuel Johnson on Shakespeare, that their errors were sometimes more important than the corrections of them.

Most of us think of the children of Simon de Montfort, if we think of them at all, as powerless refugees of whom very little is known. One of them, Guy, burst into notoriety and earned a most uncomfortable position in Dante's *Inferno*, when he murdered his cousin, Henry of Almaine, in an Italian church; but how or why he and his victim found themselves together in an Italian church at all has, I imagine, been a mystery or may still be a mystery to most of us. The first points to emphasise, therefore, are that the Montforts were very important people and that a great deal is or can be known about them. Indeed, if the published and unpublished material relating to the family after 1265 were collected together, it would make a large book. The family collected and kept its archives at Montfort l'Amaury, west of Paris, and many *disjecta membra* of these archives survive, partly in a collection formed by Clairembault early in the eighteenth century, partly in other manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the French Archives, and the British Museum.[1] Bémont has made us familiar with these, and I would merely add two observations about them. Firstly, the presence of numerous documents relating to the English family at Montfort l'Amaury may remind us that the exiles were always in close touch with the great French house from which they sprang; secondly, internal evidence

[1] Bémont (Eng. ed.), pp. xiv–xvi. The manuscript compiled by Pierre Clairembault, now *fonds Clairembault*, no. 1188, was one of a great collection formed by Clairembault for the purpose of a history of the Order of the Holy Ghost, and was originally no. 78 in this series. It contains a few originals, which are pasted in, and copies of documents which were in the Montfort archives. These archives came to Clairembault in 1707 and 1708. Bémont printed some of the contents of the Clairembault MS. in the first edition (Paris, 1884) of his book on Simon de Montfort (Appendix, nos. ii, xxviii bis, xxx, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxviii, xxxix, xlviii–liv).

suggests that one collection of documents may have been made by Earl Simon's clerical son, Amaury. Amaury, who cannot have been more than twenty years of age in 1265, became a very well educated man. As a boy he had attracted the notice of a family friend, Odo Rigaud the famous archbishop of Rouen, who had made him a canon and given him a prebend in his cathedral.[1] Roger Bacon, writing in 1267, casually refers to his tutor as one of the best mathematicians of the day.[2] This, by the way, looks as though one of our refugees travelled with a tutor. Amaury went about this time to the University of Padua, where he studied with acceptance for at least three years. He was a papal chaplain, *magnae litteraturæ*. He was also a very persistent litigious person with a keen sense of his importance and his rights, a man who never gave up a lawsuit and, under the cloak of deference, liked to write impertinent letters to his cousin, King Edward. Moreover, he was a man of means, for his mother, the Countess Eleanor, seems to have passed on to him the share of *her* mother's inheritance in Angoulême, which she persuaded the French lawcourts to extract for her from her kinsfolk in La Marche.[3] Now several documents in the Montfort archives refer especially to Amaury, and it is not unlikely that he formed a little collection.

The family archives, however, do not carry us very far. The papal registers, the English chancery rolls, the documents preserved in the English exchequer, and the records of the Angevin Kings of Naples tell us more ; and the city records of Florence, Pisa, Volterra and other places, so carefully explored by Davidsohn, tell us most of all. In the light of

[1] The archbishop gave Amaury the prebend on 5 July, 1260, while he was in London " pro negotio domini regis Francorum," and installed him at Rouen on 14 August (*Journal des visites pastorales d'Eude Rigaud*, edit. Th. Bonnin, Rouen, 1852, pp. 369, 370). Amaury obviously accompanied him back to Normandy.

[2] Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium*, edit. J. S. Brewer (Rolls Series), p. 35.

[3] I deduce this from a combination of the evidence given by Bémont, first edition, pp. 251, 372, and English edition, p. 259.

these, some unnoticed passages in the French and Italian chronicles acquire significance.

I propose to consider the following points: (1) the attitude of the royal government in England to the Montfort family; (2) the importance of the connection between the English branch and one of the French branches of the family, the Montforts of La Ferté-Alais; (3) the rapid rise of Guy de Montfort to wealth and power in Italy; (4) the murder of Henry of Almaine.

I

From one point of view Eleanor and her children were the widow and children of a traitor. Three of the sons were dangerous. Simon, the heir, a young warrior in his twenty-fifth year in 1265, showed fight; Guy showed resource, and Amaury, if the story of the treasure which he carried away is true, cunning, in his flight.[1] But, in the royal correspondence of the years 1265–7, the attitude towards the Montforts is one rather of pain and resentment than of remorseless justice. After the murder of Henry of Almaine in March, 1271, the tone changes. Richard of Cornwall, king of the Romans, the bereaved father, at once described the murderers as the sons of that foul traitor, Simon de Montfort.[2] If the Westminster chronicle reflects current speech, Earl Simon became the traitor Guenelon, the villain of the piece in the *Chanson de Roland*, and the type of treachery in more than one medieval epic.[3] His children were of the race of Guenelon. But this had not

[1] Amaury was treasurer of the church of York, and was believed to have taken the treasure with him. Pope Clement IV refused to recognise the validity of the act of deprivation issued by King Henry after Evesham: see the papal letters, dated Viterbo, 19, March, 1267 (*Cal. Pap. Letters*, i, 434). Amaury by this time was apparently in Viterbo.

[2] See the letter to the Friars Minor of London, *Cronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum* (London, 1846), p. 134.

[3] *Flores Historiarum*, ed. Luard (Rolls Series), iii, 67. Professor Vinaver tells me that the traitor Guenelon appears in the following epic poems: *Saisnes, Macaire, Fierabras, Girart de Vienne, Gaufrey, Renaut de Montauban, Gisbert de Metz.* Cf. Dante, *Inferno*, xxxii, 123.

been the attitude at first. King Richard had been friendly and had taken Eleanor and the young Simon under his protection.[1] King Henry, angry though he was, never forgot that Eleanor was his sister, and he very soon found that the Montforts had strong backing across the Channel. Until she died in pious seclusion at the family nunnery of Montargis (1275), Eleanor was treated with consideration by Henry and afterwards by Edward. She had a good income, she was allowed, through her proctors, to pursue her interminable litigation in the English courts, and after her death her last will and testament was executed without serious interference. But it has not been sufficiently noticed that at one time the King was prepared to be generous to young Simon. He stipulated that Simon should have no *right* to live in England and must be prepared to sell his lands either to him, Henry, or to one of his sons, if required; and he imposed a time limit within which Simon must accept the terms offered to him, terms which Simon did not deserve and which would not be renewed. Subject to these conditions, he was prepared to restore to Simon his lands; or, if Simon did not care for this arrangement, to allow him to return to England, under a safe conduct, to stand his trial. He added that the sins of the father would not be visited upon the son. Moreover, in his desire to please King Louis, Henry consented that the French King should act as arbitrator—for example, should fix the

[1] Although evidence can be found for this statement (cf. below, p. 19), it should be pointed out that Richard's good offices were promised under duress, when he was in the younger Simon's power at Kenilworth after the battle of Evesham. Some days before he was released (he reached his manor of Wallingford on 9 Sept., 1265) he entered into a written obligation, which was sealed with the seals of three pledges, to befriend, aid and counsel Eleanor, her children and household. The instrument, which survives in the French archives (Trésor des Chartes, J. 1024, no. 14; cf. Bémont (Eng. ed.), p. xvii), is dated from the friary at Kenilworth, the Sunday before the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, in the forty-ninth year of King Henry, i.e., 6 Sept., 1265. The inference that Richard was asked to make this promise as a condition of his release is obvious. Blaauw, who printed the document (ed. 1871, pp. 363–4), missed the point of it (p. 331).

price of the lands up to the maximum of ten years purchase, the current price of land in England. Henry also agreed to submit to ecclesiastical discipline if he failed to observe the arrangement. Richard of Cornwall would act as arbitrator during the preliminary survey or " extent " of the Leicester inheritance.[1] Why these terms were not accepted or implemented, it is hard to say. It is possible that Henry's baronial advisers disliked them, for they had not originated with them, but in discussion between King Louis's envoys and the *secretarii*, or more intimate counsellors of the English King. In later years—but this was after the murder of Henry of Almaine—King Edward was most punctilious in refusing to treat either with Guy or with Amaury without the consent of parliament, and it is clear from Archbishop Pecham's correspondence that the debates in parliament about this matter could be lively.[2] On the other hand, Simon may have refused to join in the scramble for clemency. He was devoted to the memory of his father.

II

The French envoys with whom, in May, 1267, King Henry and his *secretarii* discussed the future of the young Simon de Montfort, were led by King Louis' butler, John of Acre. The significance of this simple statement has escaped notice. John of Acre was the son of John of Brienne, who had been in his time King of Jerusalem and

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1266–7, pp. 140, 141 (letters of 24 May and 2 June, 1267); and *Royal Letters*, edit. Shirley (Rolls Series), ii, 315 (letters close of 6 Sept., 1267). On 21 February King Henry had agreed to abide by the judgment of King Louis if it were given by Easter (*ibid.*, p. 130). On 6 April, 1268, the time-limit was extended to Michaelmas, 1268 (*ibid.*, p. 217). Bémont deals too cursorily with these negotiations (Eng. ed., p. 263).

[2] See Edward's letter to Charles of Salerno, 11 April, 1279 (Rymer ed. 1816, I, ii, 568), the letter from the bishop of London to Archbishop Pecham, 14 Feb., 1282, reporting a conversation with the King at Bibury (*Registrum Epistolarum fratris Johannis Peckham*, Rolls Series, i, 298) and the letter from the archbishop and his suffragans to Martin IV, 23 April, 1282 (*ibid.*, p. 327).

Emperor of Constantinople. In other words, King Louis, who had recently taken the cross for the second time, sent on behalf of the Montforts the chief dignitary in his court, a man who, in virtue of his ancestry and social position, might be regarded as a symbol of peace and unity. The great earl, for whose son King Louis pleaded, had been a Crusader, and had been formally nominated by the barons of Syria and the Holy Land as guardian of the Latin Kingdom; his father had been the hammer of heretics in the Albigensian Crusade. Now, the younger Simon and his brothers, exiles though they were, resumed their position as members of a French house which inspired traditional respect. In spite of their follies and misfortunes they never entirely lost their claim to support. The energy with which one Pope after another urged the cause of Amaury,[1] the repeated representations by Charles of Salerno on behalf of Guy, the concern felt in England when one or other of them made a hostile move or a tentative advance, testify to their importance. The way in which the chroniclers of St. Denis discuss the murder of Henry of Almaine is itself an illustration of this fact. They treat it as a regrettable incident in a family vendetta, not as an unprovoked and brutal crime. Earl Simon, in their view, had sought to correct the weaknesses of his royal brother-in-law. His fall had been due to the treachery of Richard of Cornwall and his son, and his body had been foully maltreated. The assassination of Henry was the answer of Earl Simon's sons, an act of retribution which, if it could not be excused, was quite intelligible. In short, the Montforts belonged to the Île-de-France. They were French, not English. They had Norman, Angevin, Poitevin ancestry, but, unless we insist upon the exiguous drops which came from their great-great-grandmother, the Empress Matilda, they had no English blood in their veins. In particular, they were French, of the Île-de-France, and close kinsmen of the

[1] I hope at some later date to deal with the career of Amaury de Montfort.

greatest families in the land. We are brought up to regard Earl Simon as the incarnation of the English spirit, as a medieval Cromwell. It is true that he was not an alien, as the half-brothers of Henry III, or the relations of Eleanor of Provence were aliens, for he succeeded to his earldom by hereditary right. But the fact remains that he was a Frenchman, who held an English earldom for thirty-four years, and lived in England for about a quarter of a century.

In the second half of the thirteenth century the main line of the house of Montfort gradually disappeared. Its lands were carried by one heiress after another to other French families. The process had already begun when the sons of Earl Simon came to France. They might find hospitality and friendliness, but not opportunity and adventure in these pious households. Another branch of the Montfort family had much more to offer. This was descended from Guy, the brother of the hero of the Albigensian war and the uncle of Earl Simon. Its French home was at La Ferté-Alais, a few miles to the south of Paris, and not far from the Dominican nunnery to which the Countess Eleanor retired. Guy had fought in the south, where he held Castres in the Albigensian county and other lands in the counties of Carcassone and Narbonne. He had married a lady of the famous crusading family of Ibelin, and his son Philip became one of the leading men in Latin Syria. In 1265 Philip was, in right of his second wife, lord of Toron, and also, at least in name, lord of Tyre. He had known Earl Simon, for the earl had gone on crusade to Syria early in 1241, and Philip had been one of the barons who had wished to make his cousin guardian of the Latin Kingdom. By his first wife, Eleanor of Courtenay, daughter of the Count of Auxerre, Philip had a son Philip, destined to succeed to La Ferté-Alais, Castres and his other lands in the west. The younger Philip de Montfort had also been well known to Earl Simon, who in 1259 had made him his lieutenant in his county of Bigorre—an important fact

hitherto noted in this connection only by Blaauw.[1] Now in 1265 the younger Philip de Montfort accompanied St. Louis' brother, Charles of Anjou, on his Italian adventure. Nobody was of greater assistance to Charles than he was during the next five years when the Count of Anjou usurped imperial control in Lombardy and Tuscany and wrested the kingdom of Naples and Sicily from the last Hohenstaufen. In 1265, before the crusading army arrived, Philip helped to negotiate the submission of some of the princes and cities of North Italy, and in November he did the same service at Vercelli. After the battle of Benevento, Charles made him his vicar in Sicily and later placed him in charge of the forces entrusted with the defence of the Papal States. In 1267, together with a French civilian, he negotiated the surrender of Florence, and on Easter Day entered the city as the representative of the new King of Sicily and Imperial Vicar of Tuscany.[2] In 1268, after the victory at Alba (as we must now call the battle of Taggliacozzo) over the German army of the young Corradino and the army of the Guelf league under Henry of Castile, Philip was sent southwards again to secure the royal power in Sicily; and, on this occasion, we are told, he had with him Guy de Montfort.[3] To conclude this summary of Philip's life, in 1270 he accompanied King Charles to join

[1] Blaauw, p. 339, note 4. The document was printed later in the *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, vol. iii (ed. J. de Laborde, Paris, 1873), p. 456, no. 4476. It is dated the Wednesday before Easter, 1258, "apud Nonacuriam" (probably Nonancourt in Normandy). As Earl Simon used the "Easter" style in dating, this is 6 April, 1259, according to modern usage, not 1258 as Blaauw thought. Simon was in France at this date, but not on the corresponding date in 1258.

[2] Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, II, i, 612. Charles was accepted as the *podestà* of Florence, and quietly displaced Clement IV as ruler of the city and of Tuscany. Villani, to whom the name of Guy was familiar and that of Philip unknown, says that it was Guy who acted on this occasion for King Charles. Guy was probably still in France early in 1267. For the career of Philip in Italy, see E. Jordan, *Les Origines de la domination Angevine en Italie* (Paris, 1909), pp. 403, 574, 591, 594.

[3] Bémont, who overlooks the career of Philip de Montfort, thinks that the name Philip is a mistake for Simon, and that the two brothers, Simon and Guy, were sent by Charles to Sicily.

the crusading forces in Tunis. He is said to have died in this year, and he was succeeded by his son John, lord of La Ferté-Alais and Castres. John had already made his mark. He was given the county of Squillace on the Calabrian coast and other fiefs in the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and from 1273–1300 he was chamberlain in succession to his father-in-law, Pierre de Beaumont. John settled in Italy, and, in later years, was the best friend Guy de Montfort ever had.

I draw the conclusion that the way to fortune in Italy was opened to Guy de Montfort by his cousin Philip.

III

If any single event could be selected as the starting-point of modern European polities it would be the rapid conquest of the great part of Italy by Charles of Anjou, and it was this far-reaching adventure which gave the third son of Simon de Montfort the chance to re-establish the family fortunes. For a few months Guy, somewhere between 25 and 30 years of age, was a more powerful man in Tuscany than his father had ever been in Gascony, and stood as high in the councils of King Charles [1] as Simon had stood before the Barons' War in the counsels of King Henry III. He leaped into fame in a great battle. We do not know when he came to join Philip de Montfort in Charles's army,[2] but he came in time to fight at Alba on 23 August, 1268. So far as I am aware, no modern historian has seen the significance of his achievement, although some writers mention his presence in the field. The story is told by the chronicler of St. Denis. After describing how, by a clever stratagem, an old campaigner, Erard de Valery, saved the

[1] Charles, in his deeds, frequently refers to Philip and also to Guy as his *cognati*.

[2] The evidence given by Blaauw (p. 338) from Landinus, a commentator of Dante, that Guy was arrested by the pope on his arrival in Italy and was released at the instance of Charles early in 1267, cannot be trusted. It was easy for later writers to confuse Guy with Philip (as we have seen) and to ascribe later enmity to an earlier period. Villani's chronology, for example, is hopeless.

day for King Charles, the chronicler continues: Guy de Montfort, if anyone, deserves praise above all others. He was first in the attack, like a wild boar among dogs. Raising his father's battle-cry, he broke through the enemy and, drenched with their blood, came back to his men. But by some mischance his helmet was twisted round, so that, as his visor was at the back of his head, he could neither see nor breathe. Like a blind man, he struck wildly right and left. Then Erard de Valery, seeing his plight, had pity on him, and came up to him. He took hold of his head with both hands, reversed the helmet and retied its strings. At first Guy supposed that he was in the hands of an enemy and he struck a great blow which, by Christ's aid, did Erard no hurt. He was about to strike again, when he recognised his rescuer's voice.[1] This story would make Guy's name known and would fix the record of his previous prowess in the memory of men.

The victory at Alba made Charles of Anjou King of Sicily in fact as well as in name. Corradino was executed, Henry of Castile was imprisoned. The King was free to consolidate his power, and to distribute the lands of the *proditores*. Guy's future was assured.

In the settlement of forfeited lands which followed the conquest he and his brother Simon, who probably joined him at the end of 1268,[2] were endowed with very important fiefs in the kingdom of Naples. These fiefs, Arienzo, Nola, Castel Cicala, Monteforte, Forino, Atripalda, which came to Guy, and the county of Avellino, which in December 1270 came to Simon, control the roads which converge from

[1] Primat, in *Mon. Germ. Hist. Scriptores*, xxvii, 662; also Guillaume de Nangis, in *Rec. des Historiens de France*, xx, 434, 436. These chronicles of St. Denis are not independent of each other. Probably Primat was followed by Nangis. Primat survives in a later French translation (after 1328), Nangis in Latin and his own French translation.

[2] Simon was apparently in France in the spring of 1268 (Bémont, ed. 1, p. 251 note) and may still have been negotiating with Henry III in the course of the year (cf. above, p. 6, n. 1). In 1270 he acted as Guy's unofficial colleague in Tuscany (see the register compiled by Davidsohn from the Florentine archives, *Forschungen*, ii, no. 1204, 9 Oct., 1270).

Naples and Salerno on Benevento. In the time of Frederick II and his successors, Conrad and Manfred, they had been held by such trusted servants of the Hohenstaufen as Berthold of Hohenburg and his brother Louis, and Conrad Capece.[1]

But a still more brilliant future than that secured by the possession of these Neapolitan fiefs was opened to Guy de Montfort. After a brief period of service with Philip de Montfort in Sicily he was recalled to central Italy. He was entrusted with a difficult and responsible task in Tuscany. Although the Ghibelline league had been crushed at Alba, the imperial party still held out at Siena and elsewhere. A strong hand was needed to maintain the authority of the conqueror, and Charles chose Guy for this duty. On 24 March, 1270, Guy was appointed his vicar-general in the whole of Tuscany. Six months later, on 24 September, Charles made him also his vicar, that is, acting *podestà*, in Florence itself. Writing from his camp by Carthage he says that this additional mark of confidence was made in recognition of Guy's services to himself and to Italy. He had heard of him from the citizens of Florence, and it was fitting that the city, which was first among the cities of Tuscany, should have a great personage at its head.[2]

The archives of Florence and Siena show us Guy at work. He moved about among the men and women who live again in the *Divine Comedy*. Dante himself, a child of five years, may well have seen him on one of his ceremonial visits to the city. For twelve months he held his own, maintaining the prestige which he won during the summer of 1270 when, backing diplomacy by force, he brought Siena to submission. More pliable and less scrupulous than his father, he fitted

[1] See the Additional Note at the end of this paper. It appears from a letter of John de Montfort, written on Guy's behalf in 1289 (Rymer wrongly printed it under the year 1274; cf. Bémont, Eng. ed., p. 272 note), that Guy had fiefs at Reggio: Guy might get 1,000 florins towards his ransom "ab uno vassallorum suorum in terra sua Rheggii" (Rymer, I, ii, 512–13).

[2] Del Giudice, *Codice diplomatico del Regno di Carlo I° e II° d'Angiò*. Naples, 1863, iii, 223; Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, II, ii, 64–5.

well into his surroundings. He was not too proud to take a bribe and learned how to turn the feuds of Tuscany to financial profit. He received 4,000 gold florins from the Florentines to let them do their worst at Poggibonsi and was present at the destruction of the unhappy place. On the other hand, he was competent and he was attractive. He clinched his good fortune on 10 August, six days after the surrender of Siena. On that day, in the papal city of Viterbo, where the cardinals had gathered to elect a new pope, he married Margherita Aldobrandesca. King Charles gave his consent. Siena sent a gift of jewels in a silver box.

If Guy had had more self-control and allowed Henry of Almaine to pass by he might well have established a prosperous dynasty on the triple foundation of his lands, his vicariate and his marriage. When he made his great mistake, his marriage saved him from destruction. Margherita Aldobrandesca, a young girl of 16 or 17, was the heiress of the most powerful man in southern Tuscany. This was the count palatine Ildebrandino of Pitigliano, universally known as Rosso, the red count. His house was an ancient one, well endowed with imperial liberties granted by the emperor Frederick I and his successors. At this time his lands were held as an *emphyteusis* of the monastery of St. Anastasia 'ad Aquas Salinas,'[1] at Rome. One of Guy's

[1] According to a note in the *Domus Caietana*, i, 142 (for this book, see note below) the monastery of St. Anastasia made a concession to this effect in May, 1269. This really meant that, although its privileges had imperial sanction, the county was held of the Holy See. It was on this ground that Pope Nicholas IV in 1291 entrusted Margherita to the protection of Cardinal Benedict Gaetani, the later Pope Boniface VIII. Guy was then in prison in Sicily: the pope says that since Guy "regimen et custodiam comitatus Soane, *qui ab ecclesia Romana tenetur in feudum*, quique ad dilectam in Christo filiam, nobilem mulierem Margaritam, uxorem suam, ex paterna successione devenit, personaliter exercere non potest, tibi (i.e. Benedicto Gaetani) procurationem et curam eiusdem Margarite et comitatus et aliorum castrorum terrarum et locorum ad eundem Guidonem ratione uxoris . . . spectantium . . . committimus" (*Registres de Nicolas IV*, edit. E. Langlois, no. 5752, 2 Aug., 1291). For the connection with St. Anastasia, see also Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iv, 377–8. Similarly, the Vexin was held of the abbot of St. Denis, and Bigorre of the bishop and chapter of le Puy.

daughters, Anastasia, owed her name to this relationship. In spite of his imperial title and traditions—he was careful to secure confirmation of his privileges from Rudolf of Habsburg shortly before he died [1]—the red count was an ally of the Florentine Guelfs against the Ghibellines of Siena. Siena was his neighbour; and his kinsman, the count palatine Ildebrandino of Santa Fiora, who shared the Aldobrandine lands, was his rival and a Ghibelline, a man from whose wiles Margherita must at all costs be saved. Hence the brilliant young vicar-general came as a god-send. In Guy the count saw a protector of his daughter whose interests would be identified with hers; in the count Guy found a man who could give him a great inheritance. King Charles had endowed him handsomely in the kingdom of Naples; but the Aldobrandine lands were a prize which, as we know from later history, popes and cardinals might well covet. They were extensive and they were safe. Stretching irregularly across southern Tuscany, where numerous rivers run their brief course to the sea on the one side, and the streams which form the Tiber have their source on the other, they came to a head in the difficult country north of Lake Bolsena. The headquarters of the patrimony were at Soana and Pitigliano.[2] Siena lies to the north, on the

[1] Confirmation by Rudolf at Nürnberg, 24 Aug., 1281. This act survives, with other fragments from the imperial chancery, in the Pisan archives; see Ficker, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, phil.-hist. Kl., xiv (1854), 169. Count Rosso died on 18 May, 1284.

[2] Davidsohn's account of the Aldobrandine lands, and also of the life of Margaret (*Forschungen*, iv, 377–86), may be corrected and expanded by the work of the late Don Gelasio Caetani, *Domus Caietana: storia documentata della famiglia Caetani*, I, i (Sancascino Val di Pesa, 1927), especially pp. 132–44, 216–20, and of the authorities whom he uses. The lands of Ildebrandino Rosso, the first count of Soana and Pitigliano, were defined by the division of the patrimony between him and his uncle, Bonifacio, on 11 Dec., 1274. (Bonifacio's son Ildebrandino was the first count of Santa Fiora.) The red count's share comprised an area roughly defined by a line drawn from Monte Argentario on the west, with the adjacent islands and the town of Orbotello, to Monte Amiata (leaving Santa Fiora to the west) down the valley of the Paglia to the neighbourhood of the lake of Bolsena, thence in a south-westerly direction to the coast again. The countess Margaret, in later years, had to face claims on this territory from the papacy, the city of Orvieto, her cousins of Santa Fiora and others.

way to Florence ; on the further side of the lake, in the old papal country, Orvieto lies to the east, Viterbo to the south. Intersected by valleys in all directions, dotted by numerous strongholds, the Aldobrandine country could not easily be overrun ; and, as Guy was to find, it was a good hiding-place.

After the murder of his cousin in 1271 he lay there, passing from castle to castle, for more than two years.[1] Indeed, save for a brief imprisonment in 1273–4, he was probably there until his reappearance in King Charles's service in 1281. He retained the good will of the citizens of Siena. When King Edward came to Orvieto, on his way back from the east, in February, 1273, and planned a campaign to capture his cousin in his fastnesses, the Sienese refused to help him. The *podestà* of Siena himself went to Orvieto to plead the cause of Guy.[2] And when, a few weeks later, the dreadful bull of excommunication was issued by Pope Gregory X, and Guy was a beast rather than a man, deprived of all his rights on earth and his hopes in heaven, the city fathers permitted him to enter the city secretly by night to meet King Charles, while they publicly forbade him to come near.[3] In those days any man who sheltered Guy was *ipso facto* excommunicate.

IV

I come to the murder of Henry of Almaine at Viterbo—one of the famous crimes in history. After a careful examination of all the evidence, I have satisfied myself that only two facts are established beyond doubt. The time was 13 March, 1271, during Mass, and the scene was the parish

[1] During the negotiations with Pope Gregory X in March, 1273, Guy seems to have withdrawn further north to be out of the reach of King Edward, who was with the pope at Orvieto. After the bull of excommunication (1 April, 1273) he fled still further north to the castle of Monte Gemoli, in the Cecina valley, not far from Volterra. This castle was an outlying Aldobrandine property. See Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iv, 205.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 204 (from the State archives at Siena).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 206. The date of this interview is uncertain.

church of S. Silvestro, now the Chiesa del Gesù,[1] which stands on a little *piazza*, surrounded by towers and old houses, off the main street leading to the cathedral. The motive was a desire for revenge, but we do not know whether the crime was premeditated or was an act of sudden impulse. The dramatic details given in the papal letters two years later, and, in a different form, by Villani more than a generation later, cannot be controlled. Some are probably true, but they cannot all be true. It is fairly certain that, after the first blows were struck, Henry's body was dragged out of the church and maltreated, but it is not clear whether Guy dragged it out in order to get clear of the crowd, or went back for it after he had left the church, nor whether Henry was already dead or merely wounded when his body was dragged into the *piazza*. King Philip III of France and King Charles of Sicily were in Viterbo at the time and their letters, written immediately to Richard of Cornwall, to Edward, and to the Neapolitan officials, still survive ; but it is clear that Philip and Charles were ignorant of the details. They tell us nothing but the fact of the murder. The few chroniclers who mention it had, with one exception, no first-hand information, and only one or two of them can be described as contemporary witnesses. The exception is Guido de Corvaria, who in 1271 was the ambassador of Pisa to Charles of Anjou and whose chronicle is a kind of diary. Guido de Corvaria left Pisa for Tunis with his colleagues on 14 November, 1270, after King Charles had actually left Africa. He returned to Pisa " de ambasciaria " on 9 April, 1271 (according to the Pisan use, 1272) and, as he implies that the objects of the embassy had been discussed, we

[1] The conflicting evidence on date and place is examined by Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iv (Berlin, 1908), 201 ff. Davidsohn gives a list of the texts which refer to the murder, but attempts no critical examination of their value. The chronicles most likely to have reliable information were Guido de Corvaria, the official Genoese chronicle or Annales Januenses (*M. G. H. Scriptores*, xviii, 271) and Gerard, canon of Clermont (*Rec. des Historiens de France*, xxi, 217). In his excellent article on Henry of Almaine in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the late Professor Tout seems to me to weave the texts together without sufficient discrimination.

may assume that he joined the crusading army, travelled back with it through Italy, and reached Viterbo with it on 9 March. In that case he was in Viterbo when the murder happened. Here is his account:

> On Thursday, 12 March, Guy arrived in Viterbo. On the Friday following, i.e., the 13th, Count Guy came armed with his knights to the church of S. Silvestro in the said city, where the lord Henry, son of earl Richard, was hearing mass, and killed him with his sword. Count Rosso was present, and the Kings (Philip and Charles) were with their forces (*gente*) in the city. The papal see was vacant. . . . Guy and his brothers were immediately deprived by King Charles of all their honours and goods (*omni honore, beneficio et bonis*).[1]

Every word of this account can be accepted, including the reference to Guy's brothers, for Simon was with Guy,[2] and Amaury was for some time supposed to have been concerned in the murder, though actually he was lying ill at Padua and knew nothing about it.[3] Moreover, all the evidence goes to show that the red count had come to Viterbo with his son-in-law, and that Guy and Simon rode back with him to take refuge in the Aldobrandine territory. Simon died in a castle near Soana not long afterwards, in his thirty-first or thirty-second year.

My own view is that the crime—an act of almost incredible folly—was not premeditated. Guy, as the vicar-general of King Charles, would certainly be expected to join the King at Viterbo and to report upon Tuscan affairs. He had with him a large force of mounted mercenaries, 300 or 500 in number, presumably the paid soldiers of the Guelf league, and he must have ridden into Viterbo on 12 March quite openly with his father-in-law and his brother. Moreover

[1] *Historiæ Pisanæ fragmenta*, in Muratori, *Scriptores*, xxiv, col. 679.

[2] This is definitely stated by King Philip of France in his letter to Richard of Cornwall, and in the later bull of excommunication issued by Gregory X in 1273.

[3] Bémont (ed. 1), Appendix, pp. 365–7, an attestation from the bishop, chapter and university of Padua.

Count Rosso came off very lightly,[1] although he had been present and had afterwards sheltered Guy. If the murder was not premeditated, he might be acquitted of the death of a man against whom he had no personal grievance; whereas, if the deed had been planned beforehand, his presence would suggest active complicity. It should be noted also that Walter Baskerville, an Englishman who was apparently serving with Guy, and was outlawed as his accomplice, was later allowed to purge himself and to recover his English lands.[2] I think that, when the brothers learned that their cousin was in Viterbo, they were swept away by their memories of Evesham, by the thought of their disinheritance and humiliation, and by the knowledge that Henry was in their power. So in the morning they sought for him. We must remember two things: first, that the maltreatment of Earl Simon's body at Evesham had aroused intense feeling; secondly, that, since his desertion of the earl, Henry of Almaine had never been forgiven by the Montforts. His desertion had broken up the baronial party. He was a traitor who deserved to die. His body deserved the treatment which Earl Simon's body had suffered at Evesham.[3]

[1] In 1273 Pope Gregory X at first excepted the count from his summons (1 March) to the murderers to appear before him, then, on 6 March, included him, with safeguards (Rymer, I, ii, ed. 1816, p. 500). Later, on 4 Sept., the cardinals were entrusted with his submission to penance (*Registres de Gregoire X*, ed. J. Guiraud, no. 338).

[2] Blaauw, p. 344 note.

[3] Some Norman jottings, added to a fifteenth century fragment of the twelfth century chronicler, Robert of Torigny (Bibl. Nat., Lat. MS. 14663), give an account of the murder which, if it could be accepted, would put the crime in an entirely different light. Unfortunately we do not know from what source these "annales Normannici" come nor when they were first written: "filii Simonis de Monteforti Simon et Guido cum auxilio comitis Ruffi in ecclesia Henricum de Alamannia, filium regis Ricardi, cognatum suum, hominem prudentem et pium, qui nec in bello fuerat ubi pater illorum occisus fuerat, et pro illorum revocatione laboraverat, nequissime occiderunt, *quamvis in custodia regum esset et coram eis Simon primogenitus eundem assecurasset*, et eo occiso in ecclesia apud Viterbium, recesserunt libere in terram comitis Ruffi, qui Guidoni filiam suam dederat in uxorem" (edit. Holder-Egger in *M. G. H. Scriptores*, xxvi, 517). The annalist is so well informed and in general so accurate that he or his

The deed acquires an element of Greek tragedy when we learn that Henry of Almaine had come to Viterbo as a peace-maker. King Edward, when he talked to the Pope at Orvieto in 1273, assured Gregory X that he had detached Henry from the crusading army, which he was taking on to Syria from Tunis, with this purpose.[1] Guy had made a name for himself at Alba and during the next two years. He had powerful friends, among them the King of Sicily and Philip de Montfort, who no doubt intervened on behalf of the sons of Earl Simon when they met Edward on the crusade in Africa. I see nothing improbable in Edward's statement that Henry was entrusted with a mission of peace. At Viterbo, Guy and Simon might well have been the leading actors in a scene of reconciliation. During those days in March, 1271, Viterbo was, for a short time, the centre of the western world. Charles of Anjou came north with his nephew, Philip of France, in order to persuade the cardinals, who for more than two years had been deliberating in the bishop's palace by the cathedral, to put an end to their bickering and elect a pope. The city was full ; a meeting-ground of kings, princes, cardinals, with their households, and the army which St. Louis had gathered for his last crusade. The circumstances were sad and solemn. The death of the King of France on 25 August, 1270, had hastened

authority must have been contemporary. For example, Henry of Almaine was absent when the battle of Evesham was fought; he was in France ; and he had acted as one of the younger Simon's pledges, as did his father, in 1266. But it seems to me to be impossible to accept his story that at Viterbo Simon had undertaken not to attack Henry. A fact of such importance would have been mentioned at the time, and in the course of the papal inquiry two years later. It would imply that on the 12 March the Kings of France and Sicily were aware that Henry was in danger, and that an attack upon him was meditated. Moreover it would imply that Henry had already had an opportunity to open his mission of reconciliation, and that he had only succeeded in infuriating the brothers still more. All this seems most improbable.

[1] " Ad quos (Simon and Guy) restituendos ad carissimi in Christo filii nostri Edwardi Regis Angliae illustris gratiam, qua ipsos fertur eorum gravis culpa privasse, idem Henricus de voluntate memorati Siciliae ac cum mandato eiusdem Angliae Regum venerat " (Bull of excommunication, 1 April, 1273, Rymer, I, ii, 501).

the abandonment of the operations in Africa, and his son was bringing back his father's body to be buried in St. Denis. The remains of Philip's brother, the Count of Nevers, of his young wife, Isabella of Aragon, and of his brother-in-law, Theobald of Champagne, King of Navarre, were carried along with those of Saint Louis. The crusading host was a body of mourners in a travelling necropolis. And Guy de Montfort must needs break in to add yet another corpse.

V

For a time the fortunes of the house of Montfort were broken. Guy never recovered all the ground which he lost in one wild moment at Viterbo. Yet it is a mistake to suppose that he was a ruined man. Ten years later he seemed about to become as powerful as he had been in 1270. In 1281 he was restored to the favour and service of King Charles; in 1283 he commanded the papal forces in Romagna; in 1284, on the death of the red count, he returned to secure his wife's inheritance against the attacks of her relations and neighbours; in 1285–6 he was again the champion of the Guelf league. He was then in the prime of life, about 44 years of age, the lord of widespread estates, and one of the best known captains of his time. Those of you who are students of Dante may like to remember that Guy de Montfort in 1283 fought successfully against the famous Guido de Montefeltro, and in 1285 by the side of Corso Donati. Then in 1287 the end came. Charles of Anjou was dead; his successor, Charles of Salerno, was a prisoner in Spain. The regent of the kingdom of Naples, Robert of Artois, and John de Montfort, the captain of the forces, summoned Guy to organise resistance to the house of Aragon. Guy collected a fleet for an attack upon the rebellious Sicilians. But the Angevin fleet was broken in the Bay of Naples by Roger Loria, the ablest admiral of his day (June 1287), and Guy de Montfort passed the rest of his life as a captive in a Sicilian fortress.

The last twenty years of Guy's life (1271–91) are, indeed,

very interesting. I should like to tell you about his excommunication by Pope Gregory, his relations with the unbending Edward of England and with his friends, Charles of Salerno (King Charles II of Naples) and John de Montfort; above all, I should like to tell you the story of his wife and of what is known about his little daughters, Thomasia and Anastasia; also of his brother Amaury and his sister Eleanor, the wife of Llywelyn of Wales. But even the bare record of these things would require another Address. To-day my object has been to show that, so far from being penniless refugees, the family of Simon de Montfort played no small part in European affairs, and that one of them very nearly gained a permanent place in history, as one of the founders of a new Italy.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

Guy de Montfort's fiefs in the Kingdom of Naples spread from Arienzo to Atripalda. They protected the city of Naples in the direction of Benevento. The most easterly, Atripalda, near to Simon de Montfort's fief of Avellino,[1] lies about half-way between Benevento and Salerno; it formed a group with Monteforte, the old Norman barony from which Guy, by what was perhaps a deliberate coincidence, had his title of count, and Forino. Nola, which had been one of the centres of resistance to Charles of Anjou,[2] formed part of a middle group, composed of Cicala, Somma, Palma, Ottaiano and other places, backed in the south by Mount Vesuvius. To the west Acerra and Arienzo lie on the road to Benevento through the Valle Caudina.

Guy was deprived of his lands on the day of the murder at Viterbo, 13 March, 1271. It is not yet certain when they were restored to him. Some of them were certainly administered, during Guy's captivity (from June, 1287), by *procuratores*, on behalf of Guy or his daughter, Anastasia, the wife (1293) of

[1] F. Scandone, *Ricerche novissime sulla scuola poetica siciliana* (Avellino 1900), p. 80, cited by E. Pontieri in the *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, i (1931), 288.

[2] See E. Sthamer, "Bruchstücke mittelalterlicher Enqueten aus Unteritalien," in the *Abhandlungen d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 1933, Phil.-hist. Kl., fasc. 2, pp. 36, 37, for the efforts of Conrad Capece on behalf of Corradino, as revealed by King Charles's inquests.

Neapolitan Fiefs of
Simon and Guy de Montfort.
ROADS ----------
BENEVENTO
(Valle Caudina)
Arienzo
Naples
Acerra
Naples
NOLA
Castel Cicala
AVELLINO
Arripalda
Monteforte
Somma
Palma
Forino
(Vesuvio)
Ottaiano
Naples
SALERNO
Scale — 1 : 500,000
(1 Centim. = 5,000 metres)
0 5 10 20
kilometres

Romanello, son of Gentile Orsini. On 28 October, 1293, Anastasia was restored to Nola, Cicala, Atripalda, Forino, and Monteforte. On 27 May, 1294, a royal *privilegium* definitely granting them to Romanello was issued.

The detailed history of the conquest of Naples by Charles of Anjou and of the distribution of lands has not yet been written. Miss Evelyn Jamison has very kindly called my attention to some of the numerous preliminary studies which have appeared in local periodicals and which supplement the more general work done by G. Del Giudice, B. Capasso, Minieri-Riccio and others upon the registers of the Angevin kings. For example, Francesco Scandone has collected the references to Atripalda in one of his articles in the periodical *Samnium*, on "I Comuni del Principato Ultra (in provincia di Avellino) all' inizio della dominazione angioina (1266–95)." See *Samnium*, vii, 121–7 (Benevento, 1934).

I am indebted to Miss Jamison for the sketch-map.

RUSSIA AND PANSLAVISM IN THE EIGHTEEN-SEVENTIES

By B. H. Sumner

Read 8 *November*, 1934

When twenty years after the Crimean War the near eastern question again absorbed the attention of Europe, among the various changes in the setting of the crisis of 1876–8 as compared with that of 1853–6 appears conspicuously the new force styled panslavism. It is the purpose of this paper to attempt some analysis of its growth and its main elements with a view to indicating its position and potentialities on the eve of the crisis of 1876. Since panslavism was in general not so much an organised policy, or even a creed, but rather an attitude of mind and feeling, it was at the time correspondingly difficult to gauge its power, just as it is now to analyse its different elements. At least there is no doubt that during the late 'seventies panslavism bulked in the eyes of Buda-Pesth and Vienna, of Constantinople and London as the most dangerous force in Russia, and as will be seen in the course of this paper there was indeed much in it to give good ground for the denunciations of foreign alarmists.[1]

One major difficulty in giving specific meaning to the

[1] On the panslavs and the slavophils, besides their own writings, I have found specially useful: M. Gershenzon, *Istoricheskie Zapiski* (2nd edition; Berlin, 1923); N. L. Brodsky, *Rannie Slavyanofili* (Moscow, 1910); T. G. Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia* (2 vols.; London, 1919); A. N. Pipin, *Panslavizm v proshlem i nastoyashchem* (St. Petersburg, 1913; originally published in *Vestnik Evropy*, Oct.–Dec., 1878); A. Fischel, *Der Panslavismus bis zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1916).

vague, general term panslavism was that when and in proportion as it gained wide influence it did so very largely by transforming itself into a very pronounced form of Great Russian nationalism. It was in fact during the 'sixties and 'seventies in a period of transition when the watchwords that appealed to the older generation were sounding less clearly and did not chime in harmoniously with the harsh clanging of a younger generation. In a sense it was the difference between panslavism, or slavophilism as it had been originally styled, and panrussianism. What had begun as the religious and intellectual strivings of small coteries of Muscovite landowners ended by being transformed into crude appeals to nationalist mass-emotions.

The slavophil movement, which grew up in the two decades before the Crimean War and attracted considerable attention abroad under the description of the struggle between the slavophils and the westernisers, had neither any organisation nor any clear political programme. The conditions of the later years of Nicholas I's reign made the open expression of political opinions almost impossible, but a further reason for the predominantly non-political character of early slavophilism lay in the fact that for the majority of the slavophils it was the outcome of individual struggles to express a satisfactory philosophical and theological formulation of their religious convictions and a justification of their view of the world: hence the vein of quietism, of social and political conservatism which runs through much of the writings of the slavophils,—it is particularly noticeable in Ivan Kirievsky. Yet they were by no means conservatives of the official Uvarov brand; they tended to look upon the state and the machinery of law as acting only by force and as entirely secondary in comparison with the living reality of a community (*obshchina*) morally free and morally united in the collective realisation of faith. They were first and foremost steeped in Orthodoxy. But they were also intellectuals, belonging to the middle or upper strata of the nobility; well off and

well educated; acquainted with western thought and literature; specially influenced by Schlegel and Hegel. The opposition between them and the westernisers was ultimately due less to divergence of historical or political views than to differences of temperament and psychological approach,—the one religious, the other rationalistic. Nearly all of the slavophils were closely bound to the Russian land, for they were not only serf owners, but were born, bred and resident much of the year on their country estates.

"Like spreading oaks, these families grew in the easy soil of serfdom, their roots invisibly intertwined with the life of the people and drawing life from its waters, while their topmost branches reached up into the air of European culture." [1]

Instinctively they represented the country as against the town. Their one town was Moscow, and that was a great, sprawling clutter of gardened houses, peasant huts, and countless churches. St. Petersburg was psychologically and physically, just as it was symbolically, entirely alien to them. Thus bound to Moscow, thus linked with the land, they inevitably reacted profoundly against the catastrophic failure of the St. Petersburg bureaucracy, largely non-Russian in personnel, in the Crimean War. In the "liberal" years that ushered in Alexander II's reign, when the press was relatively free and political activity to some extent possible, the slavophils entered the lists prominently in the struggle for reforms, above all of course concentrated on the fundamental problem of serfdom. It was thus in the sphere of internal reforms that the slavophils first openly appeared upon the political scene. Though bitterly critical of the breakdown of the foreign policy of Nicholas and his Baltic German diplomats, their efforts were in the first place mainly directed to saving Russia herself. Only a healthy, cleansed Russia could come

[1] M. Gershenzon, *Istoricheskie Zapiski*, pp. 44–5 and 94–5 (2nd edition; Berlin, 1923); referring to such families as the Kirievskys, the Koshelovs, the Homyakovs, or the Samarins.

forward as the saviour of Slavdom.[1] In this respect at least they had come round to the point of view of the westernisers.

Prior to the Crimean War slavophil circles had in general taken little sustained interest in the non-Russian Slavs. The linguistic and cultural revival which began among Czechs, Serbs, and Bulgars in the first half of the century looked far more to Russia than *vice versa*. Russians when they travelled abroad went normally to Germany, Switzerland or the West, not to the Balkans or the Slav lands of the Austrian Empire. The official world looked askance at any incipient panslav stirrings, and Nicholas I, only too thoroughly supported here by Nesselrode and his closest confidants, frowned severely upon any Slav movements which might infuse a further dose of revolutionary principles, above all if they infected the Habsburg Empire. No raising of a Slav banner was possible without a break between St. Petersburg and Vienna, and such a break Nicholas was, to his cost, the last to think possible. Only on the very eve of the Crimean War did he as a last resort sanction an appeal to the Christians of Turkey to rise in common defence of Orthodoxy,—but not of Slavdom. It was at this point that there came into play the first attempts of the slavophil movement to influence foreign policy. These were due mainly to the activities of the energetic and widely known Pogodin, one of the few among the friends of the earlier slavophils to interest himself vigorously in the other Slav peoples.

Professor of history at Moscow University, Pogodin was the leading representative of the type of academic propagandist and philanthropist which was to be very prominent in the panslav movement in the 'sixties and

[1] A noticeable feature in the writings of the later panslavs, such as Aksakov, Danilevsky and O. Miller, is the emphasis placed on the changed position of Russia *vis-à-vis* the other Slavs as a consequence of the emancipation of the serfs and the other reforms of the early 'sixties: Russia they claimed could now, as she could not formerly, appeal to them in the name of liberty and a new range of cultural development.

'seventies. Though stoutly Orthodox himself, his Slav interests and sympathies were founded rather upon the historical achievements of the past than upon a spiritual basis of the reuniting and redemptive powers of Orthodoxy. As for the present, he conjured up a picture of brother Slavs groaning under the yoke of the foreigner and gazing expectantly at Russia, by whose undisputed and unaided might they were to be rescued. This breezy optimism of Pogodin was rudely shattered by the Crimean War, but he was possessed of a buoyant perseverance and he had the invaluable capacity of giving some life to vague sympathy by harnessing it to practical and organised work. Almost alone of the slavophil sympathisers of his generation he lived on in activity for long after the war (he did not die until 1875), and he was one of the founders, and the second president, of the Moscow Slavonic Benevolent Committee.

This committee was set up with the approval of Alexander II in 1858 with the declared aim of assisting the Southern Slavs to develop their religious, educational and other national institutions and of bringing young Slavs to Russia to be educated. In practice it concentrated almost entirely upon the Bulgars, upon whom it had an important, though by no means always the desired, effect. From the start it was closely connected with the Church, and various ecclesiastical dignitaries both in Moscow and the provinces gave the movement influential assistance. It had the backing of the Department of Asiatic Affairs in the Foreign Office, and in particular the energetic support of Ignatyev. The St. Petersburg committee, founded ten years later, was largely directed by professors of the university and concentrated mainly on relations, by no means always amicable, with the Czechs. Similar committees were also set up in 1869 and 1870 in Kiev and Odessa, where the Bulgarian colony served as its nucleus. The membership of all four was very small: they did not issue propagandist literature on any scale in Russia until 1876 and they had

no regular press of their own.[1] Their influence within Russia was not widespread before 1876; outside Russia and especially in Bulgaria they were by then of definite importance. But their greatest effect probably lay less in their actual achievements than in the exaggerated alarm which their activities in the Balkans and Austria-Hungary had inspired in the world of diplomacy and journalism.

The most spectacular achievement of the Moscow Committee had been the holding in 1867 of a Slavonic Ethnographic Exhibition in Moscow which was much advertised in Russia, and much commented upon abroad as a thin cultural cloak for political propaganda. On the whole it was not much more than a platonic declaration of Slav sympathies, and no effect was given to the one practical proposal put forward (by the Czechs not the Russians), namely, the organisation of a permanent Slavonic institute and of biennial Slavonic cultural congresses. Its Russian organisers hailed it as for the first time arousing Russia to the Slav question and as converting what had been an abstract, literary question into a living problem of actuality. Yet these same men eight years later, when the eastern question again festered into a crisis, had to confess that Russian ignorance of and apathy towards their Slav brethren were still only too widespread. By 1875 not so very much had changed since 1860 when Turgenev's *On the Eve* depicted the father of the heroine as unable to distinguish her Bulgarian revolutionary lover from "a vagrant Montenegrin."

But at the least the Slavonic committees did form a skeleton organisation which might be rapidly expanded if circumstances were favourable, for besides the rigid Muscovite patriotism which was their core they now had, what they never had before, powerful supporters in both the Winter Palace and the Anichkov Palace and powerful allies

[1] Aksakov founded three short-lived papers, *Den* in 1861 and *Moskva* and *Moskvich* in 1867 and 1868, but they fell foul of the censorship on account of internal policy and further funds were not forthcoming, until 1880. Aksakov and the slavophils in general were among the most prominent in the struggle against the press censorship.

in a new stream of anti-foreign hostility. Of their Muscovite core the most typical representative was the leader of the Moscow Committee, Ivan Aksakov, a man of vigorous personality, who rose to the height of his career in the crisis of 1876 to 1878.

Born in 1823, sprung from the central Russian land and bred in something of the atmosphere of his father Sergei's *A Russian Gentleman*, Ivan Aksakov belonged spiritually, like Dostoyevsky two years his senior, to the older slavophils born in the first decade of the century.[1] With him as for them the roots of Slav feeling lay in absorbed devotion to the Orthodox church. With them likewise his main energies lay outside any professional or official service. Neither learned nor widely read, but passionately outspoken with all the conviction of a doctrinaire fanatic, he became the prophet of the small circle of the Moscow Slavonic Committee, announcing in semi-apocalyptic terms the divine mission of Russia, the freeing of her brothers in faith and blood from a foreign religious and political yoke. This historical mission of Russia, her moral right and duty, is founded in the fact—never argued nor "proved," merely didactically stated—of Orthodoxy as the one pure form of Christianity, the essential basis of true civilisation, of which the Russian Slavs are the only true and effective repository and upholders. Over against Slav Orthodoxy is set the old decaying Romano-German world of the West, with its poison of unbridled rationalism and individualism, its cancer of internecine competition, and its ruinous social and industrial struggles. As for almost all the earlier slavophils Catholicism is the symbol for western civilisation, and for Aksakov the arch-enemy. Protestantism bulks far less, appearing merely as a subsidiary form of declension from the true principles of Christianity. Thus the Catholic Slavs have been guilty of the great betrayal. The Slavs stand at

[1] His panslav writings are collected in the first volume of his collected works, *Slavyansky vopros* : there is a valuable, though very hostile, article, by A. N. Pipin, reviewing this in *Vestnik Evropy*, August, 1886, pp. 763–807.

the parting of the ways ; either the way of the West, of Rome ; or the way of the East, of Orthodox Moscow. For the Czechs and Croats there may be some hope if they return to Cyril and Methodius, to Orthodoxy ; to the Poles Aksakov offers nothing but the cup of irreconcilable bitterness. The essential prerequisite for the idea of panslav fraternity is the idea of the highest spiritual unity in faith : secure the purity of the Slav ideal of faith and church, then all things will be added unto you. Hence political combinations, the political aims of Russian foreign policy are left vague and unanalysed. All the strength of the Slavs lies in Russia ; all the strength of Russia in her Slavdom. Russia cannot achieve healthy national development save through realisation of her vocation as the great Slav power, through a break with the post-Petrine, Petersburg period of her history. Just as Russia is unthinkable apart from Slavdom, since she is both spiritually and materially the leading expression of it, so also is Slavdom unthinkable apart from Russia.

These views are little else than a restatement of those of Ivan Kirievsky and Homyakov, but the emphasis is now laid on Orthodox Slavdom rather than on Greco-Slavonic Orthodoxy, a significant transition towards the newer panslavism. And further, while earlier writers, as too Aksakov's contemporary Dostoyevsky, hankered after some synthesis which should save western civilisation from the consequences flowing from the over-developed rationalism of its philosophical and theological bases, Aksakov was content to summon Orthodoxy and Slavdom to do battle with the principle of evil. Russia's messianic calling was no longer to be that of the saviour of humanity at large, but was now limited to Orthodox Slavdom alone. On the other hand, he took over from his predecessors, besides their fundamental religious outlook, their antipathy to institutional forms of constraint and regulation and their criticism of or hostility to Peter the Great and his semi-German successors with their tentacular bureaucratic des-

potism and their desertion of true Russian ways of life for western importations. Thus the *mir* and later the *zemsky sobor* [1] became slogans for slavophil or panslav groups as genuine, national products of Muscovite Russia; thus the Holy Synod was repudiated as an erastian creation of Peter which had shackled the true life of the church and bent it into subservience to the state: thus the governmental machine was attacked as an alien incubus, controlled by Baltic Germans and other non-Russians, totally unable to respond to the deep currents of national life; thus, finally, the dynasty itself was the target for accusations of being but a German brand of military autocracy without roots in the soil of Russia.

Such an attitude of mind, to some extent traditional among certain sections of the landed power, owing much now to the reaction against the régime of Nicholas I and something to the economic and social dislocation following on the emancipation of the serfs and other reforms, was by no means confined to Aksakov's followers. With different colourings and different trappings, it was common to many among the landowning class for whom St. Petersburg meant government by bureaucrats, loss of power, and economic displacement. Here were potent feelings, essentially unconnected with panslavism, which yet might be utilised by it in an assault upon St. Petersburg foreign policy if that policy refused to move in consonance with the true aspirations of the Russian people as the standard bearer of the Slav cause.

This anti-governmental element, together with the anti-dynastic streak, in the panslavism of Moscow circles helped to make them profoundly antipathetic to Alexander II

[1] The historical origin and development of the *mir* or village community was the subject of acute controversy between the slavophils and their opponents. The former took little or no account of certain aspects of the *mir* which in fact had been imposed from above by the state within the last two centuries. The *zemsky sobor*, roughly comparable to the *Etats généraux*, had not met since 1682. A revival of it in some form might serve as a curb on the Tsar and the bureaucracy on the part of the landowners.

himself and to most of the high functionaries of the St. Petersburg machine. Yet they were not without allies or sympathisers in the very highest circles of the court. The Empress and, later, the wife of the Tsarevich with all the enthusiasm of converts to Orthodoxy imbibed the traditional view of the mission of Orthodox Russia and surrounded themselves with a circle of ardent devotees of Homyakov's and Tyutchev's brand of religious, poetising nationalism, of which the Countess Bludova's salon was the most conspicuous centre. There reigned Tyutchev's dreams of a "great Graeco-Russian Orthodox Empire" which should gather together Slavdom with "the Pan-Slavonic Tsar" at its head, and

> as ye gaze,
> To east and west, to south and north,
> The sun's glad tidings shall ring forth,
> The summons of his conquering rays.[1]

In such an atmosphere, and with Pobedonostsev as tutor, the future Alexander III had been brought up. He was probably not deeply influenced by this mixture of pan-orthodox and panslav symbolism, but he was as Tsarevich generally supposed to be an adherent of panslav ideas, a supposition which could find confirmation in the undoubted fact that a number of his entourage, as well as his wife, were warm supporters of the cause. These court allies were not an initiating force, but if a crisis arose in Turkey, if feeling rose high, they might act as a powerful influence on Russian foreign policy and as invaluable collaborators with Aksakov's following in Moscow.

[1] On Tyutchev's panslav ideas, see G. Florovsky, "The Historical Premonitions of Tyutchev" in *Slavonic Review*, vol. 3, pp. 337–49. Countess Bludova, a fanatical anti-Pole, was a close friend of Bashanov, the Empress's confessor, and of Tyutchev's two daughters, both ladies-in-waiting, and one of them subsequently married to Aksakov and an important link between Aksakov, Pogodin, and Katkov, and court circles. For Pobedonostsev's connection with Aksakov through the daughters of Tyutchev, *cf.* "Pobedonostsev and Alexander III" in *Slavonic Review*, vol. 7, pp. 31–2.

Although Aksakov and his like fiercely denounced Peter the Great and so much that followed after him, they omitted from their counts the expansion of Muscovy into the Russian Empire. It was Peter and his house of Holstein-Gottorp who had annexed the Baltic provinces, the southern steppes, the Crimea, Poland, Finland, Bessarabia, the Caucasus, great tracts of Asia. This tremendous heritage was silently accepted. So far from there being any murmur of undoing any part of this work, Moscow and the panslavs were the loudest in demanding that the borderlands be fully absorbed in the great Slav mass of central Russia, the core of the old Muscovy. The Polish revolt of 1863 had unleashed again century-old hatreds and fears. Katkov in his *Moskovskiya Vedemosti* had led the first great press campaign which Russia had known, with resounding effect against the Poles and against foreign intervention. In the years which followed the old " Congress Poland " was swept away, mercilessly dragooned within the framework of the administration common to Russia proper (a framework that largely consisted of a state of siege), while " the western lands," Lithuania, White Russia and the right-bank Ukraine, were subjected to every measure of russianisation. Contemporaneously was initiated a campaign of the same nature in the Baltic Provinces and Bessarabia ; and, to show without mistaking that Russian meant Great Russian alone, the Little Russian or Ukrainian cultural revival of the time was successfully attacked by Moscow, above all by the prohibition in 1876 of the use of the Ukrainian " dialect " for any academic or literary purposes. Symptomatically two of the men most actively associated with this denationalising, russianising policy were among the most prominent of the slavophil or panslav Muscovites of the day : Prince Cherkassky (1824–78) and Yuri Samarin (1819–76), both of them friends of Aksakov.

Completely different in character and attainments, they were both at one in regarding the problem of nationality within the Russian Empire as requiring urgent and drastic

handling. Samarin admirably summed up an increasingly widespread feeling when he ridiculed the ideal of a denationalised empire in which Russians, Poles and Germans lived side by side but apart from each other " comme qui dirait la reproduction très en grande de l'hôtel Ragatz (he was writing from Brussels) où Russes, Américains et Français venaient, sans se connaître, s'asseoir à la même table d'hôte " ; over against this he set a Russia in which a Russian " would feel like a Frenchman feels in France or an Englishman in England," entirely at home.[1]

For Samarin and Cherkassky the only solution possible for the great western fringes of the empire was an undeviating policy of russianisation : of the success of this in the central Polish provinces with an overwhelming pure Polish population they were admittedly doubtful, but it could at least serve to stifle the nationalistic chauvinism of the upper classes until such time as the Polish peasantry had been transformed by the new legislation for which both men were largely responsible. Samarin had been one of N. A. Milyutin's right-hand men in working out the details of the abolition of serfdom in Russia and was subsequently employed in the somewhat similar task of agrarian reform in Poland. An earlier period of administration in the Baltic Provinces had likewise given him first-hand practical experience of the Letts and Esthonians and their Baltic German landowners. Prince Cherkassky, a wealthy Tula landowner, had taken a prominent part in the emancipation of the serfs and also worked with Milyutin and Samarin in Poland and distinguished himself in the campaign for reuniting the Uniats with the Orthodox Church. For three years (1868–70) he was still more in the public eye at the head of the Moscow City Council, until his protest against reaction, in concert with Aksakov and Samarin, called down the displeasure of the Tsar and he was forced into retirement. Both were noted members of the Moscow Slavonic

[1] B. E. Nolde, *Yury Samarin i ego vremya* (Paris, 1926), p. 186 ; quoting a private letter of Samarin written in 1864.

Committee, though Cherkassky, unlike Samarin in his closing years, did not deeply concern himself with the Slavs outside Russia until he ended his life, in 1878, as civil administrator of Bulgaria.

Both men are significant in the panslav movement in that unlike Aksakov or the earlier slavophils, and unlike the professorial type represented by Lamansky, Miller or Grot, they were active in administration and politics and were well-known public figures. Cherkassky in particular represents the doer—by fits and starts—as opposed to the thinker or prophet. Samarin, endowed with an exceptional capacity for hard work, combined practical ability with deep intellectual and religious interests grounded in him by his early upbringing and his student years at Moscow university. Himself a considerable theologian as well as the author of the widely influential *The Borderlands of Russia*, the text-book of the " russifiers " of the 'seventies, he may be accounted a bridge between the older type of slavophil steeped in the learning, the rites, and the mysticism of Orthodoxy and the newer type of forceful administrator, diplomat or soldier to whom such a religious and philosophical grounding was of little or no concern. Both men are also, above all, significant as leading protagonists of the transformation of the idea of panslavism into that of panrussianism. To the success of such views on internal policy was largely due that continuance in western countries of the picture of Russia as the brutal oppressor of her subjects and peoples which remained one of the strongest springs of Russophobia in England and elsewhere.

At the same time this internal aspect of developing panslavism was paralleled by the note of hectoring domination or overweening pride which was becoming more and more marked in relations with the Slavs outside the empire. It is of course obvious that views such as those of Aksakov sketched above would raise in an acute form the fundamental contradiction contained in the combination of panslavism and Orthodoxy. A thousand years of the

history of the western Slavs were virtually ignored. More than half of the Slavs living outside Russia dwelt within the bounds of the Austro-Hungarian empire ; and the great majority of these were Catholic and had been for centuries deeply affected by westernising influences. Still more formidable was the problem of the Poles, the second most numerous of the Slav races and with their long and great tradition of civilisation binding them to Catholicism and the West. It was impossible in the long run to ignore them, and yet at this period that was the deliberate attitude of the Russian panslavs, hot with the acrid fumes of 1863. At the Slavonic Ethnographic Exhibition held in Moscow in 1867 to display to Russia and the world at large the fraternal union of Slavdom the Poles were conspicuous by their absence. In all the round of speeches on that occasion the Poles were scarcely mentioned save by Pogodin who called upon them to rejoin the Slav brotherhood by humbling themselves before the Russian Tsar. At the close Rieger, the Czech leader, remonstrated in cautious terms. Promptly Cherkassky, true to his reputation, arose to pour forth minatory reproaches on any meddling with what was a purely Russian question.

It is evident that panslavism as long as the Orthodox Church remained as its basis could only be applied in the main to the Slavs in Turkey. Only in proportion as it shed its ecclesiastical and religious elements, might it be capable of appeal to the majority of the Slavs in Austria-Hungary, or to the Poles. Even then there would remain the stumbling-block of the lack of any common language. It was symptomatic that Šafarik's correspondence with Pogodin was written in German, and that the proceedings of the Prague Slavonic congress of 1848 were likewise conducted in German. The Russians in their attempt to impose Russian as the common language for all Slavs encountered the most emphatic opposition : unedifying and fruitless wrangles with Lamansky, Hilferding and other Russian philologists in the panslav camp were the only result.

Lastly, a third stumbling-block in the path of panslavism lay in the fact that, although Russia was indisputably the only effective political and military Slav power, her claims to cultural predominance seemed thin and arrogant in the eyes of many western Slavs. Thus Homyakov's *Address from Moscow to the Serbs*, in 1860, with its tone of dictatorial superiority, had aroused much ill-feeling in Serbia. Palácky and others were not behindhand in repudiating any idea of Russian hegemony; and the same antipathy to the patronising dominance of Moscow was scarcely veiled during the celebrations of the 1867 Ethnographic Exhibition. Despite the reforms of the early 'sixties, Russian Tsardom ran counter to the traditions and aspirations of every other Slav people. Emancipation at the hands of the Russian Tsar might mean but an exchange of domination. Gorchakov, always an opponent of panslav schemes, was justified in writing, "Je ne vous dissimule pas qu'il m'est difficile de croire, à une sympathie sincère, des races Slaves pour la *Russie Autocratique*." [1] However much some of the Czech leaders might blind themselves to the nature of Russian Tsardom, the trees of liberty were likely to have very queer blooms if transported from the banks of the Neva or the Moskva. Certainly they were not recognisable along the Vistula.

These three major obstacles to the development of panslavism were abundantly apparent throughout Alexander II's reign. Towards its close they became less apparent to foreign eyes when a different form of panslavism was in the ascendant which put either no or little store on the test of purity of religion, or on the overcoming of linguistic differences, or on the civilising mission of Russia, but proclaimed a nakedly political programme for the annihilation of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires through the military might of Russia. This may be said to mark the final stage

[1] Gorchakov to Novikov, 9 May, 1872, in notes kindly lent to me by Baron A. F. Meyendorff and made from the archives of the Imperial Russian Embassy in London.

of the development of panslavism into panrussianism, and this was the form in which during the eighteen-seventies panslavism was above all represented to the rest of Europe, mainly through the work of two men, the one forgotten, the other still remembered : Rostislav Andreievich Fadyeev and Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatyev.

Fadyeev (1824–84) was a military man, belonging to a country family of the nobility serving in the army or civil service. His father rose to be governor of Saratov : his mother was a Dolgorouki. He himself served for twenty years in the Caucasus, where he became an ardent supporter of expansion in Central Asia and a lifelong henchman of Prince Baryatinski, the conqueror of Shamyl and " the pacifier of the Caucasus." In 1867, inspired by the field-marshal chafing in retirement, he joined in the attack then being engineered on D. A. Milyutin's army reforms which he subjected to drastic criticism in a series of articles entitled *Russia's Armed Forces*.[1] As a result he was forced by Milyutin to retire from the active army, and he soon joined forces with Chernyaev, the Central Asian lion of the day who had likewise been broken by Milyutin, and with his swashbuckling friends grouped round the violent nationalist paper *Russky Mir*. From this period dates Fadyeev's championship of the Slav cause, first pronounced in strident tones in his *Opinion on the Eastern Question* (1869), which at once made his name in the Slav lands. In January 1875 he went to Egypt to reconstruct the Egyptian army at the invitation of the Khedive,—an invitation which apparently was extracted by the intrigues of Ignatyev.[2] This task was undertaken as a practical means for working towards the disruption of the Ottoman Empire, in the hope of being able in five or six years to utilise the Khedive's army against his suzerain in conjunction with a rising of the Balkan Slavs.

[1] *Briefwechsel des Botschafters General v. Schweinitz* (Berlin, 1928), p. 47.

[2] Stanton (Cairo) to Derby, no. 17, very confidential, 15 January, 1876, in *F.O.* 181/535.

Events moved too quickly; and in any case Ismail Pasha intended his army for a very different use, against the Abyssinians. Fadyeev hurriedly set out for the real scene of action and was back in Russia at the end of May, 1876. The authorities succeeded in stopping him from proceeding to Serbia as he intended, but they allowed him to re-enter the active army, and he gaily continued his career as a stormy petrel figuring prominently, after war had been declared by Russia, in Belgrade and Cettinje.

It is not surprising that the views of such a man on the Slav question should present radical differences from the ideas already analysed. Fadyeev had no interest in the past, no concern for the slavophil tradition of emphasis on the spiritual and cultural union of the Slavs, no feeling for the unique mission of the Orthodox Church and the civilisation based upon it, no rooted belief in the virtues of the Russian peasant. He looked upon the Moscow slavophils as having finished their rôle and as having, since the emancipation of the serfs, no practical programme.[1] Significantly he lived, in his later years, in St. Petersburg or Odessa, not in Moscow. He had the mentality of a militant adventurer. He could be direct and briefly to the point, but was apt to be carried away by fantastic exaggeration and atrabilious judgment. Of the Slav lands he knew little at first hand, and he had never visited any of them until his unwelcome appearance in Serbia in 1877; but he imbibed much from his friend Ignatyev and from the panslav group in Odessa. Above all he had a perfectly clear idea as to two fundamentals in the Slav question—force and Austria-Hungary.

His first book, *Russia's Armed Forces* (which appeared in 1867 and was soon translated into German with an alarmist, anti-Russian preface by Julius Eckardt), contained little of a political or non-technical character and panslavism

[1] *Russkoe obshchestvo v nastoyashchem i budushchem*, in his collected works, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 102–4. He is writing specifically of slavophilism in relation to the internal problems of Russia, but the views here expressed are, I think, typical of his attitude to slavophilism in general.

is only incidentally urged, and in relatively moderate terms, but it enunciated without qualification the doctrine that force is the sole final arbiter in international affairs and the inevitable prerequisite for any great nation with a mission to fulfil. That the eastern question could only be solved by war on a great scale was even more emphasised in his *Opinion on the Eastern Question.* This brief, easily read, violently provocative outburst from Fadyeev was the most influential of all the expressions of panslav views of the time. First published in 1869, it was rapidly translated into most European, and all the Slav languages, and was generally taken abroad to sum up the quintessence and real programme of panslavism.

Its resounding keynote was the watchword attributed to Pashkevich, " the eastern question can be solved only in Austria, not in Turkey; the way to Constantinople lies through Vienna." The eastern question can only be terminated by war on Russia's western frontiers, for it is not a question affecting only the Slavs in Turkey, but the Slavs in Austria-Hungary as well, and the Poles: *i.e.*, it is " the Pan-Slavonian Question." [1] Austria-Hungary cannot without committing suicide act otherwise than in a sense diametrically opposed to Russia: free Slav states in the Balkans would be impossible for the Austrians and the Magyars with their subject Slav races. " Austria can hold her part of the Slavonian mass as long as Turkey holds hers, and *vice versa.*" Turkey is looked upon as being in complete decadence, and neither her army nor her fleet are regarded as of any consequence. Militarily Russia can always forestall her western opponents not only in the Balkans, but on the Bosphorus: with 100,000 men to mask the Bulgarian fortresses and a striking force of another 150,000 she can be in Constantinople in six weeks. But, her line of communications is fatally threatened by the strategical situation of the Austrian Empire. Hence the necessity of

[1] My quotations are from the second English edition, published in 1876.

settling with the Habsburgs and of annexing Eastern Galicia and Bukovina, with their brother Slavs " groaning on the Russian borders."

Russia's " historical individuality " is now pronounced, but it is not realised, and it can only be realised by expansion as the welder of the Slavonic world. She cannot be consolidated save as the centre of her Slav and Orthodox world of eastern Europe.

" The whole of Europe stands up against the historical development of Russia, threatening, as it does, a still greater breaking up of present systems . . .

The historical move of Russia from the Dnieper to the Vistula was a declaration of war to Europe, which had broken into a part of the Continent which did not belong to her. Russia now stands in the midst of the enemy's lines—such a condition is only temporary: she must either drive back the enemy or abandon the position."

She " must either extend her pre-eminence to the Adriatic or withdraw again beyond the Dnieper." Save for the members of her own family, the Slavs and the Orthodox, Russia has, and can have, no reliable allies. Least of all must Prussia (which Fadyeev already regarded as virtually united Germany) be accounted such, for she will stand with Austria-Hungary for the traditional German preponderance in the Danube valley, and for continued Germanisation of the Slavs. " Russia's chief enemy is by no means Western Europe, but the German race in its enormous pretensions." Thus foreshadowing developments of the late 'eighties, he went on to argue that " all the more substantial interests of Russia and Prussia are much more antagonistic than those of *Russia and France*."

Fadyeev was not a whit depressed by his picture of an irreconcilably hostile Europe in the struggle that was inevitably to come. Russia must stand alert and prepared to act alone—with her Slav allies. He did indeed admit as a weakness the small amount of interest that had hitherto been shown in these allies by Russia and her omission to

establish herself as their undisputed leader, but he readily comforted himself with the recommendation that time and propaganda would rectify the mistakes of the past. In any case the immense sympathies of the Slavs for Russia could be securely counted upon as her greatest asset when the opportunity came and her armies struck victoriously against their common foes. Then seven hundred thousand Slavs (a typically exaggerated figure) would rise in arms to fight on Russia's side. The Rumanians were to be won over by the gift of Transylvania; the Greeks by the gift of Thessaly, Epirus and the Isles, but nothing more. Unlike Aksakov and others, Fadyeev was ready enough to supply some outline at least of the political aims of the struggle for Slav emancipation. The objects were two-fold: to secure to each branch of the Slavs its independent political and social life; and to combine with Russia in some form of confederation in which Russia was to be militarily and internationally predominant. "Each tribe requires a Sovereign of its own for its domestic affairs, and a great Slave [1] Tzar for the affairs of all collectively." Thus foreign policy and military affairs must be in the hands of the Tsar. He added that it was very desirable that Russian Grand Dukes should sit upon the new Slav thrones. Russia however was to make no annexations, except in the case of Eastern Galicia and Bukovina, and of course the southern districts of Bessarabia torn from her in 1856. Constantinople was left in the vague position of a free city for the confederation. As for the Poles, they were summarily offered the alternative between entry into a Slav confederation and ruin. "The Polish nation will have to choose between the position of a younger brother of the Russian people and that of a German province."

Such a programme of panslavism, aiming nakedly at a Russian domination of the whole of eastern and south-

[1] Slav was frequently at this time spelt in English Slave, thus evoking a wholly different range of associations from those suggested to Slavs themselves by their common name,—*Slava* meaning glory.

eastern Europe to be realised through the overthrow of the Austrian and Turkish empires, however reckless in what it assumed and fantastic in what it omitted, could rouse all the more alarm abroad when in the course of the eighteen-seventies the renown of the Russian ambassador at Constantinople came to be widely spread as the able, unscrupulous, tireless propagator of closely similar ideas. It was above all the influence of Ignatyev which transmuted the aspirations of the Moscow panslavs into one of the main realities of the eastern crisis when it came to a head in 1876.

Ignatyev (1832–1908) was a man of exceptional abilities and ingeniously flexible determination, whose active life was entirely spent in the army, in the foreign office and in diplomacy. He made his name, when only twenty-eight, by his resounding success in the Far East in securing for Russia the 1860 Treaty of Pekin. From 1861–1864 he was Director of the Asiatic Department of the Foreign Office, which dealt not only with purely Asiatic countries but with Turkey in Europe as well. In 1864 he took over the Constantinople legation (it was not raised to the rank of an embassy until three years later), and he remained at that post continuously until just before the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war in 1877. He came to be on increasingly bad terms with, and finally the avowed rival of, his nominal superior Gorchakov, and he never acquired the real confidence of the Tsar ; but he had multiplied connections with the court, the army, the big landed nobility (to which he himself belonged), and especially with the Slavonic Benevolent Committees. By 1875 he stood out not merely as a diplomatist but as a leader on whom was pinned much of the hopes of Russian nationalism and whose influence both in Russia and in the Balkans was of the greatest practical consequence.[1]

Ignatyev in sketching in his memoirs his general policy in the Near East laid down three aims which Russian

[1] The following paragraphs on Ignatyev are based mainly on my article "Ignatyev at Constantinople, 1864–74," in *Slavonic Review*, vol. 11, pp. 343–4, 569–71.

diplomacy must follow : the revision of the 1856 Treaty of Paris (including the suppression of the collective guardianship of Turkey by the powers), the command of Constantinople and Straits, and some form of common action by the Slavs under the direction of Russia. His attitude to panslavism is predominantly political, the religious and cultural aspects being merely means which could be useful adjuncts for the attainment of Russian predominance in south-eastern Europe. Ignatyev was not a man for whom the Orthodox Church meant any deep religious experience or mystical communion. His attitude during the struggle between the Greeks and the Bulgars over the Exarchate is an excellent illustration of the way in which political calculations were the determinant factor. He knew that a schism would lead to internecine struggles among the Eastern Churches and a general lowering of the prestige of Orthodoxy which would be not at all to Russian interests : hence his original policy appears to have been to secure a compromise which would provide some nucleus for the nascent Bulgarian nation but which would not entirely alienate the Greeks. But as the prospect of any such agreed settlement receded he was quite prepared to tip the scales more and more decisively in favour of the Bulgarian extremists. Unable to prevent the Greeks from offering unyielding opposition, he appeared undisguisedly as the main protagonist of those in the Russian diplomatic service who thought in terms of Slavdom rather than in those of Orthodoxy. There could be no stronger contast than that between Ignatyev and his subordinate Leontyev, occasionally, though with doubtful justice, classed as a slavophil. Leontyev was for some ten years in the consular service in the Balkans and Constantinople. There his first-hand acquaintance with both Bulgars and Greeks served to fortify his convictions as to the primacy of " Byzantinism " (the Greek-Orthodox culture and view of the world) and caused him to recoil in horror from the deliberate rending of the Orthodox world by the Bulgarian intelligentsia in the name

of that false nationalism, linked up with the principles of 1789, which for Leontyev was the curse of Slavism.[1] For Ignatyev, on the other hand, the whole question of the Exarchate was simply one as to how could be secured for the Bulgars " un noyau national qu'on serait libre de développer ultérieurement " ; and by " on " he meant primarily Russia.

The difference between the panslavism of Ignatyev and his like, and the philosophical and religious slavophilism of the older type, is equally well illustrated by Ignatyev's frank repudiation of any pretence at idealism in his championship of the Slavs. Sooner or later, he held, Russia must fight Austria-Hungary for the first place in the Balkans and for the leadership of Slavdom : only for the attainment of this task should Russia make sacrifices for the Slavs under Austrian and Turkish rule and be solicitous for their freedom and growth in strength. To aim merely at emancipating the Slavs, to be satisfied with merely humanitarian success would be foolish and reprehensible. Slowly they must be united in the form of a defensive union subordinated to the general military, diplomatic and economic direction of Russia. Against Gorchakov he insisted that the Slav standard should be borne exclusively by the Russian Tsar : better to adjourn any idea of solving the Balkan question or of liberating Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Turkish yoke rather than yield anything to the inevitable rivalry of Austria-Hungary.

All Ignatyev's efforts were directed towards working for the time when the development of Russia's strength and favourable conditions in Europe would allow of the attainment of a purely Russian solution of the eastern question, *viz.*, the Straits at the disposal of Russia and the creation of brother states in blood and faith linked to Russia by adamantine ties. Of first importance was the command of Constantinople and the Straits, as necessary for the security

[1] For Leontyev's views see his *Vostok, Rossiya i Slavyanstvo*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1885), a republication with some additions of his articles on the eastern question, notably *Panslavizm i Greki* (1873) and *Bizantism i Slavyanstvo* (1875).

of Russia's Black Sea coast-line as for her political and economic expansion. She must be master of Constantinople by one of two means, either by complete diplomatic predominance there, as was largely achieved between 1871 and 1875, or by direct conquest if the opposition of the Turks and the powers rendered the former policy impracticable. Ultimately in any case a radical solution of the eastern question would have to be found involving the disruption of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, and defiance of the Habsburg Empire : if the other powers combined with Turkey against Russia, Constantinople and the Straits must simply be conquered, and the Greeks, Bulgars and Armenians won over to act as obedient tools of Russian policy.

Thus with Ignatyev, as with Fadyeev, predominated the ideas of an independent, anti-European policy of force, and of a Russia whose destiny was to utilise the growing nationalism of the Slav peoples so as to facilitate the disruption by her own might of the Austro-Hungarian as well as of the Ottoman Empires, leaving in their stead south-eastern Europe (and for Ignatyev above all Constantinople and the Straits) under her unquestioned control. Ignatyev himself was to play his hardest for these high stakes in 1878 when with the signature of his treaty of San Stefano for a moment he was at the zenith of his power, only to taste the bitterness of defeat three months later.

Of this newer type of panslavism no theoretical or systematic exposition was supplied by Ignatyev or Fadyeev. This lack was met by Danilevsky's *Russia and Europe*, subsequently styled " the bible of panslavism." Though first published in 1869 it was not very influential in Russia or much known abroad until a later period.[1] Ponderous, very lengthy, and graceless in style, it was certainly not designed for wide consumption. It did, however, introduce a new note which helped to give it some immediate vogue.

[1] There is no English translation of it in the British Museum. The only German translation that I know of was not published until 1920, and in a very much shortened version.

Danilevsky (1822–85) had been trained as a student mainly in botany and the natural sciences and throughout his career, which was that of a government inspector of fisheries and other departments of agricultural economics, he retained the closest interest in them ; Darwin becoming his particular bugbear. From his botanical studies he derived the idea of the struggle for existence as the dominating factor in the relation between states ; force was justified as an inevitable, natural concomitant of the development of any healthy species. *Russia and Europe,* built up with much parade of scientific argumentation, seemed to give to panslavism the *cachet* of science as then fashionable.

Danilevsky's political views, apart from their setting and presentation, are closely similar to those of Fadyeev. He, too, denies the conception of humanity or civilisation as a whole, and places in the forefront that of the struggle between different cultural-historical types, based mainly on language groupings. While in general agreement with the other slavophils or panslavs as to the opposition between the Romano-German civilisation of Europe and the civilisation of the Slav peoples, he considers this opposition to be fundamental in the sense that it is insuperable. Thus he, too, repudiates anything in the nature of Dostoyevsky's striving towards a universal brotherhood to which Russia should guide, not merely her Slav brothers, but the whole suffering world. Slav civilisation, above all as represented by Russia, is inevitably destined for a glorious future, but this future depends upon the political emancipation of the Slavs from western Europe, and such independence can only be attained by war. Thus only can the eastern question receive its final solution. Danilevsky has no doubts as to the outcome. His political outlook and reasoning are, as with nearly all the panslavs, extremely optimistic. Russia is taken as a match even for a combined Europe, and the Slavs can have the fullest confidence in their moral superiority over a Europe diseased through centuries of violence and now through economic dissensions and the undermining

threat of socialism. Victory is assured, and will bring to birth a Slav federation under the leadership of Russia, into which must enter, besides the Poles, the non-Slav Greeks, Roumanians and Magyars, and the capital of which is to be Constantinople.

Here again is apparent the unsubstantial sketchiness of panslavism as a political programme. It was in fact, except in the case of Ignatyev, far less a political programme than a political manifesto. With too little backing of real knowledge of the Slav lands and with insufficient facing up to the obstacles in its path, panslavism was much more of an emotional force than a planned creed of Russian imperialism. It is significant, for instance, that on the vital question of the future of Constantinople there was no agreement among the Russian nationalists. All were indeed agreed that Constantinople "must be ours"; but there were wide differences as to what exactly that meant. When the crisis of 1878 was reached, the lack of any clearly thought-out solution was only too evident. While Dostoyevsky feverishly preached the necessity and rightness of the annexation of Constantinople by Russia as the head and guardian of Orthodoxy,[1] and while pious Orthodox circles, and particularly the Court devotees, would not be satisfied "until they sat cross-legged upon the crescent of Santa Sofia,"[2] Fadyeev and others urged some kind of internationalisation in the form of a free city, and Danilevsky and Leontyev on the other hand diatribed against such an idea as converting what should become the capital of a Slav or an Orthodox confederation into a hotbed of hostile intrigues of every description.[3]

[1] *Dnevnik Pisatelya*, in his collected works, 6th ed., *e.g.*, vol. 11, pp. 281–3; vol. 12, pp. 71–3, 78–82, 354–60.

[2] Gorchakov on the Countess Bludova, *Russkaya Starina*, vol. 133, 1908, p. 96.

[3] Danilevsky in articles published in 1877, reprinted in P. Streltsov, *Rossiya, Tsargrad i prolivi*, pp. 66–70: Leontyev in *Grazhdanin*, 1878, reprinted in *Vostok, Rossiya i Slavyanstvo*, vol. 1, pp. 249–50, 254–5: *cf.* 76, 239.

Such were the main strands going to make up the tangled web of panslavism in the eighteen-seventies. Clearly it was not the organised power or carefully worked-out plan which it was represented to be abroad. Yet the foreign view of it, though exaggerated, had sensed correctly the fundamental element of danger which lay in it. The panslavs, divided and few in numbers though they were, represented a sounding-board of the new, restless Russian nationalism. Through them, with their connections with the Moscovite nobility, the Orthodox Church, the court, the diplomatic service and the army, this nationalism might, if events abroad gave the requisite shock, be capable of effectually diverting or even directing the policy of the Tsar and his immediate advisers. An outbreak in the Balkans, massacres of Christians, tales of heroic resistance, could be made to arouse again among the immense mass of the illiterate population of Russia the old traditional feelings that God had made the Turks to be the oppressor of the Orthodox and the Russians to be their saviour. With the tiny minority of the educated this same appeal of the panslavs to religious and humanitarian sympathy for the Balkan Christians could bulk large, while they could also, of course, appeal to mere, ordinary chauvinism ; in the case of a few to a deep and solid interest in Slavdom ; in the case of many to a desire to escape from aimlessness and inaction by plunging into a cause. This last element in the panslav appeal in the late 'seventies brings out one of the two deepest motive forces lying beneath the turgid and often bombastic externals of panslavism. In its call to self-confidence, to action, to a belief in Russia as a mighty power destined to shape the history of the world and fulfil a mission of her own, it responded to a deep craving for national recognition, all the keener when the humiliation of the Crimean War was set in such sharp contrast with the achievements of Italians and Germans in moulding their national future. And as a second motive force lay the reaction, so explicit in all forms of slavophilism or panslav-

ism, against the claim of West-European civilisation to set up as the one, true civilisation to which all other peoples are or should be adapting themselves, a reaction which still remains, in different guise, one of the most potent influences in the Russia of to-day.

FAVERSHAM AND THE CINQUE PORTS

By Miss K. M. E. Murray, B.A., B.Litt.

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The Cinque Port tradition which inspires the civic pride of the Portsmen of this day has been built upon their former naval importance. We are accustomed to think of this group of towns, Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover and Sandwich, ringing the south-eastern coast of England, as sentinels of the channel, "the Gates," as they liked to describe themselves, "that open and shutt to the perill or safety of this Kingdome." [1]

Officially, the link which drew these Ports into a confederation—an association unique among English medieval boroughs—was a duty, the common service of fifty-seven ships owed at their own costs for fifteen days in each year to the King. This service can be traced back to the Domesday Survey; in the reign of Henry II the Ports were spoken of as a unit under their common name, while in the civil wars of the thirteenth century their ships controlled the English Channel and exercised a decisive influence in national affairs. But this century was the climax of the political and naval power of the Ports. It was followed by a period of impoverishment caused by wars and plague, of increasingly heavy naval burdens, and a long struggle to preserve their harbours against geographical changes. After 1400 the service of the Ports was reduced to a fraction, and their ships were only called upon for transport and on rare occasions of special emergency. By the time of the Armada five ships and a pinnace were all that the Ports could supply in place of the former fleet of fifty-seven.

[1] Sandwich MSS. S.N.3, f. 57.

The traditions of the Cinque Ports are therefore founded upon the events of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and they have lived ever since upon their past reputation. The association did not break up with the loss of its naval objective, but, on the contrary, the internal organisation of the confederation was more highly developed in 1600 than in 1300. The true vitality of the Cinque Ports lay not in their service but in the liberties enjoyed in return for their shipping, and a clearer picture of the confederation is obtained from a consideration of its local aspects than from a study of the part played by Cinque Port ships in naval battles.

That the confederation stood for a great deal besides a burdensome duty is seen in its expansion during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. To the original Five Ports were gradually added numerous " Limbs " or " Members," distinguished as " Corporate " or " Non-corporate " according to whether the member obtained a Royal Charter, or was content to let the association rest upon private agreement only. The relationship between these members and the original or Head Ports well illustrates the character of the confederation and that local aspect which has hitherto been neglected. Fortunately in the case of Faversham, a corporate member of the Head Port of Dover, material exists for a study of this kind.

Since Faversham was less exposed to attack during the Middle Ages than the other Ports, and escaped destruction by the French, more early records have survived in that Port than in any other. Most important is a small group of manuscripts of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, mainly relating to the quarrels between the town and the Abbey of Faversham, some of which throw very interesting light upon the connection with the Head Port of Dover. Among them is an early account roll, which has been printed by the Kent Archaeological Society, and which contains some of the earliest references to the Cinque Port's court of Brodhull, now known as the Brother-

hood.[1] These documents, together with the magnificent series of charters, including the earliest charter to the Cinque Ports jointly, are those which were reported upon by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1877.[2] In addition, there is a mass of material, all later in date than the middle of the sixteenth century, the existence of which had been almost forgotten for fifty years. Never fully sorted, their removal from one store-room to another during the World War had resulted in hopeless confusion. Elizabethan Portmote rolls, files of writs and pleas, seventeenth-century bills and letters, Chamberlains' accounts of all dates, and more recent records all lay scattered on shelves and in over a dozen partly filled packing-cases in disused police cells. The Corporation of Faversham very kindly gave me permission to look through this mass of material in October, 1933, and I was able to make a rough list of the documents and books.[3] My immediate object was to pick out from the records which are of purely local interest, and which naturally form the bulk of the collection, the few which bear directly upon Cinque Port history. Most important of these are those relating to the Chancery Court of the Ports at Dover,[4] and to the special process of "Withernam" used by the Ports for the recovery of debt.[5]

[1] *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. X. F.F. Giraud, *Faversham Town Accounts*, 33 Edward I and Henry VIII. *Ibid.*, vol. XIV. F.F. Giraud, *Municipal Archives of Faversham*, 1304–24. For further extracts from the records, see *ibid.* XXI. *The Service of Shipping of the Barons of Faversham;* XXIV. *Extracts from the Faversham Archives* (1585); XXVII. *Notes on an Early Cinque Ports Charter. Transactions Royal Historical Society*, Old Series, vol. I (1869–71). J. M. Cowper. *Notes from the Records of Faversham*, 1560–1600. Brotherhood is a corruption of Brodhull which first occurs in the sixteenth century.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report VI, pp. 500–11.

[3] Having learnt of the existence of this splendid collection of records, the Corporation of Faversham is now alive to its value, and the most valuable documents are now carefully preserved in a Bank. Much in the way of repair and cataloguing remains to be done when funds are available.

[4] Faversham MSS., Bdles. 64, 66, 67, 106, 109, 117. These supplement the records of the Court preserved at Dover. See the second and third reports of the Royal Commission on Public Records (1910–19), Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 165–6, 206; and Vol. III, Part 2, pp. 112–16.

[5] *Ibid.*, Bdle. 134.

The gap in the Faversham records between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries is filled in part by the very complete Account Books of Dover, now in the British Museum, the earliest of which is dated 1365.[1] For the part taken by Faversham in the confederation after 1433 there is the evidence of the minute books of the Brotherhood and Guestling meetings of the Ports, known as the White and Black Books, kept at New Romney. For the earlier period various records relating to the suit between the town and the Abbey are found in the Assize Rolls and other documents in the Public Record Office.

It comes as rather a surprise to those who are accustomed to think of the Cinque Ports and their members as the guardians of the Channel, to learn that Faversham was one of the members of Dover in the thirteenth century.[2] Geographically, in economic interest, and in political history, Faversham is cut off and distinct from the Cinque Ports. Lying on a navigable arm of the River Swale, with access to the Thames estuary rather than the English Channel, Faversham is over twenty miles from the nearest Head Port. Trade relations at home were with Rochester and London rather than with Southampton and the West Ports, abroad with Holland rather than with Normandy and France. The common economic interest of the Cinque Ports, which provided the most powerful stimulus towards their association, was in the herring fishery, begun in September at Yarmouth, and followed down the coast into the Channel later in the year; but although a large part of the population of Faversham were fishermen, it was their own oyster-beds which were their training-ground and chief source of profit.[3] The common service of the Ports, to which they owed their liberties, was provided for the dual purpose of patrolling and defending the south-east coast and furnishing the King with transport across the Channel.

[1] MSS. Add. 29615–6 (1365–1453, 1462–84). MSS. Egerton, 2090–1 (1381–85, 1465–99).

[2] Cf. *Red Book of the Exchequer* (R.S.), II, 714 (1293).

[3] Jacob, *History of Faversham*, 1774, pp. 75 *sq.*

They owed their prestige to their strategic position controlling the Channel communications ; they were later linked in the face of the common danger of French invasion and attack. In this organisation Faversham, not being a Channel haven, has no obvious position. Finally, while the other Ports had to face a continuous struggle against sand and shingle, and all except Dover eventually lost their prosperity, Faversham was comparatively free from this danger. In 1570, when Romney had long ceased to be a port, and Hastings, Rye and the others were fighting a losing battle to preserve their harbours, Faversham is described as

> well peopled and flourishing in wealth . . . for it hath not onely the neighbourhood of one of the most fruitfull partes of this shyre (or rather of the very garden of Kent) . . . but also a commodious creeke that serveth to bring in and carrie out by water whatsoever wanteth or aboundeth to the countrie." [1]

In 1776 it was still " a fair and flourishing sea-port town " when Sandwich was " but the shadow of what it was." [2]

Nevertheless, in spite of the isolation of position, interests and fortune, Faversham remained linked to the Cinque Ports from the thirteenth century onwards.

The reasons which led to the various members joining the confederation are not always certain, but it is perfectly clear in the case of Faversham that the demand came from the outsider. Faversham itself desired membership and accepted ship service as an incidental, for the sake of advantages which were still felt when naval affairs had ceased to play a prominent part in the history of the Ports, and when their prestige was waning.

Faversham was from pre-Conquest times a place of considerable importance. As a royal vill and manor it was in the ninth century the centre of the administrative

[1] Lambarde, *Perambulation of Kent*, 1596, p. 256.

[2] *The Kentish Traveller's Companion*, Rochester and Canterbury, 1776, pp. x, 79, 153.

district known as the Lathe, and later gave its name to a Hundred,[1] but apart from a market worth £4 there was still no sign of urban development at the time of the Domesday survey.[2] Lying on the main road between London and Canterbury, however, the manor was a convenient stopping-place for royal travellers, and in 1147 Stephen gave it with all manorial services and customs to a monastery of Cluniacs which he founded there.[3] The burial of his son, his Queen and himself in the Abbey secured its fame,[4] and a new impetus was given to the commercial development of the manor. A town rapidly grew up at the gates of the Abbey, and fifty years later it is recorded that the Archbishop coming to the town blessed them all with a single blessing, "but . . . since the town is large and the population numerous, he was unable to bless individual persons who met him." [5] By the middle of the thirteenth century there is reference to the new and old town,[6] while the inevitable conflict had begun between the townsmen and their manorial overlord.

The foundation charter of Stephen gave the Abbot and monks the manor with sac and soc, toll, theam and infangenethef.[7] By this grant the Abbot claimed to hold the Hundred of Faversham, including all customs, and to demand from the men of the town suit at the Hundred every three weeks, or, after the time of Richard I, at the Halimote, and at two law days.[8] In addition to the ordinary cases he heard strangers' pleas and breaches of the assizes of bread and ale. All the officers of the town were appointed by the Abbot, with the exception of the chief officer, the Alderman, who was chosen by the town but presented to

[1] Jolliffe, *Pre-Feudal England*, 1933, pp. 12, 45.
[2] *Domesday Book*, I, p. 2B.
[3] Later, Benedictines. Cf. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 568 *sq.* Jacob, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.
[4] Lewis, *History and Antiquities of Faversham*, 1727, p. 3.
[5] Thorne, *Chronica* (ed. Twysden, *Scriptores Decem*, London, 1652), cols. 1859–60.
[6] P.R.O., *Assize Roll* 361, m. 49. [7] Dugdale, IV, 573.
[8] P.R.O., *Assize Roll* 367, m. 55. *Abbrev. Plac.*, 1811, p. 140.

the Abbot for approval. The influence exercised by the Abbot over this choice is seen in the fact that in 1254 Simon the Alderman and three others were the only inhabitants of the Thirty Two Hawes who did not refuse rent and relief, while in 1305 the townsmen claimed quittance of Aldermen, like the other Ports, along with freedom from tolls, services and suit at court. As Lord of the Manor the Abbot owned the waste, the roads and, more important, the market-place. By charters of Stephen, Henry II, John and Henry III, he had full jurisdiction over offences in the fair or market-place, with all profits. In the thirteenth century he could appoint two ale-tasters, one for the new and one for the old town; he held the standard weights and measures and had a tumbrel and a pillory for the punishment of offences. On his land and at his quays he took tronage, lestage and anchorage; from the King he had inherited a right of pre-emption. Still more irritating to a rapidly developing urban community were the money payments and personal services due to the Abbey. In addition to the right of tallaging, the Abbot took toll from all merchants not his tenants in chief, and gavelsester from most of the brewers. He claimed relief and rents from holders of stalls and shops, and a payment on Saturdays, known as fenestrage, from those who exposed goods for sale in their windows. Finally, certain of the townsmen had to take his pigs to the wood and they had to find 12*d*. a year to pay a steersman to take the Abbot's corn to London.[1]

It was to enlist outside support in the struggle against their monastic overlord, that some genius among the townsmen suggested application to the Cinque Ports for membership. Unfortunately nothing is known of the exact date and character of the original agreement, but Faversham is first associated with the Ports in royal shipping orders in 1229.[2] Nor is it certainly known why membership with the Head Port of Dover was preferred to that with Sandwich,

[1] *Abbrev. Plac.*, 1811, p. 140. P.R.O., *Chanc. Misc.*, 64/1/27.
[2] *Pat. Roll* 1225–32, p. 264.

which is slightly nearer by road, and very much nearer by sea. Perhaps the fact that Sandwich itself at that date had still not won complete independence of Christ Church, Canterbury, influenced the choice, possibly the rather closer relationship between Dover and the Constable of Dover Castle, who was already assuming an important position in Cinque Port affairs, was considered an advantage. On the other hand, Dover owed a much heavier quota of ships than Sandwich to the common service,[1] and may therefore have been more anxious to shift a part of the burden to a " limb " and have offered better terms. At any rate, early in the thirteenth century Faversham had bargained to provide one ship out of the twenty-one owed by Dover when called upon for service,[2] and in return was to enjoy the Liberties of the Cinque Ports.

A further difficulty is that it was apparently only a section of the inhabitants of the manor and vill of Faversham who took this step, a group who are referred to as the " Men of the Thirty-Two Hawes." A record of persons and places free of custom at Southampton, dated about 1340, for instance, named the Cinque Ports and Members, except Faversham, where only thirty-five hawes were said to be free of custom.[3] In earlier documents a distinction is frequently drawn between the men or the district of the Hundred or Soke, and the men of the Hawes; between the Parish and the Liberties of Faversham; between the Abbot's tenants of " Kingesmulle " and the holders of the " Burgesmulle " within the Thirty-Two Hawes.[4] In the time of Edward I it was explained that thirty houses, a croft, and some land lay in the liberty and did scot and lot

[1] Dover owed 21 ships, Sandwich 5. Cf. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, II, 714.

[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, III, i, 460.

[3] Gidden, *The Sign Manuals and Letter Patents of Southampton* (Southampton Record Society, 1916), I, 86. The number of Hawes is given as 35 in *Abbrev. Plac.*, p. 245 (1302), but elsewhere, cf. *ibid.* p. 298 (1305), always as 32.

[4] Cf. P.R.O., *Chanc. Misc.*, 64/1/27 (1258). *Assize Roll* 361, m. 50. *Parl. and Council Misc.*, 2/17. *Curia Regis Roll* 161, m. 23.

with the town and ship service, although they belonged to the Abbot and paid geld to him.[1] After the gap in the Faversham records in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, nothing more is heard of the Thirty-Two Hawes, and the whole town must by then have established the right to share in Cinque Port liberties, but in the thirteenth century when men of Faversham claimed the privilege of the Ports it was necessary to give evidence of residence within the Hawes.[2] One wonders whether the bargain with Dover was originally made by a group of townsmen who were wealthy enough to meet the expenses involved, and bold enough to brave the anger of the Abbot, or whose commercial ambitions made them particularly anxious to establish independence. If this were so, it would be an extreme case of the very local and private form which is characteristic of membership of the Cinque Ports. There is in no case evidence of any formal admission into the confederation, the agreements were always between the selected Head Port and the new Member alone, and relations between them were always closer than federal ties.

Whoever was responsible, the inclusion of Faversham in the Cinque Port confederation was an attempt to solve the problem of relationship with the Abbot by cutting the Gordian knot. The privileges acquired by agreement with a Head Port were not adjusted to the particular situation of the member. It was not necessary to obtain a special charter, the well-known liberties of the original Ports had been granted in return for service: the enlistment of members to share that service corresponded to the process of subinfeudation in military tenure and required no royal sanction. In cases like that of Faversham, where opposition from other interested parties was inevitable, it was advisable to obtain a royal confirmation of the private agreement. The terms of the charter granted to Faversham in 1252 [3] leave no doubt that, although there was as yet no " general "

[1] Jacob, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 *sq.* [2] P.R.O., *Assize Roll* 361, m. 50.
[3] *Cal. Ch. R.*, I, 392.

or joint charter to the Cinque Ports, their liberties were already defined. By becoming a member of Dover, Faversham inherited not only those rights expressly named in the charter already granted to that Port,[1] but also any privileges mentioned in any of the individual charters granted to any of the Cinque Ports, Two Ancient Towns of Winchelsea and Rye, or their members. The 1252 charter to Faversham is in fact the first of the series of general charters to the Cinque Ports of the type of that granted to them in 1278,[2] which are summaries of the earlier individual grants. The basis of the charter to Faversham appears to be one granted by Henry II to Hythe,[3] and only its opening follows the terms of the charter confirmed to Dover in 1216. The grant of quittance from toll and all customs on buying and selling, with sac and soc, thol and theam and infangenethef, may have been taken from the charters of Dover or of Hythe; those of being wrecfri, witefri, locofri and quit of shire and hundred are from Hythe. From a charter of Henry II to Hastings comes the liberty of sharing in the herring fishery and of landing at Yarmouth,[4] while the right to plead and be impleaded only at the Court of Shepway (which took the place of a shire court within the Ports) and the protection of the market are again privileges found in the Hythe charter. The only important liberty omitted is that of "honours at court," referring to the canopy service at royal coronations, which was never performed by any except inhabitants of the Head Ports and Two Ancient Towns, although it occurs in a later charter to Faversham.[5]

It was impossible to silence the claims of manorial overlords in this arbitrary fashion, and the immediate result of the association of Faversham with Dover was therefore to intensify hostilities with the Abbot. The right to claim the Liberty of the Ports gave the community a new standing; when the Abbot appealed to an ancient grant of manorial

[1] *Rot. Cart.*, p. 153 (confirmation of 1216).
[2] *Cal. Ch. R.*, II, 209.
[3] *Cal Ch. R.*, III, 219.
[4] *Cal. Ch. R.*, III, 221.
[5] *Cal. Ch. R.*, III, 32 (1302).

rights, they could produce their charter. When they were forced to recognise the Abbot as lord of the manor by royal gift, with the franchises the King had formerly enjoyed, they triumphantly explained that he could not possibly claim the special privileges newly acquired from the Cinque Ports, because these had not been enjoyed by anyone in Faversham at the time of the foundation of the Abbey.[1] They were now able to appeal to something outside manorial custom, to counter the Abbot's complaint of services refused by accusations of breach of privilege on his part. Moreover, any encroachment on their liberties was now resented as an insult to the whole confederation and feared as a threat to their vested interests. Not only the Head Port of Dover, but in serious cases the Barons of the other towns and the Warden himself—the only royal officer within the Ports—watchful to uphold their privileged jurisdiction, were ready to appear in court to defend the men of Faversham.

The charter of 1252 was the signal for the outbreak of hostilities, marked by an immediate attempt on the part of the townsmen to enforce a claim to infangenethef (the punishment of felons and the seizure of their goods) and the custody of prisoners. Sibilla, widow of Hugh de Shape of Faversham, appealed Thomas de Hauckeneye for the death of her husband, but before the matter came up in the Assize the men of the Hawes had evidently instructed her in her duties as a combaroness of the Ports. When the case was begun, Sibilla said that she did not wish to prosecute her claim there, claiming instead trial at the court of Shepway, as an inhabitant of the Ports. She was however committed to gaol, and her pledges to prosecute were declared in mercy. Meanwhile the trial continued: the jury acquitted Hauckeneye and accused in his stead John Le Noreys, who was imprisoned in the Abbot's prison of King's Mill. But the town, determined to assert their rights, went in a body, broke open the prison and carried John off to their own prison in the Burgess's mill. Then

[1] Faversham MS., *temp.* Edward I.

they erected a new gallows where there had never been one before, and hanged their prisoner. Their action was somewhat hasty and ill-advised, and brought them into trouble not only with the Abbot, whose right of infangenethef they infringed, but also with the royal justices. Having taken no proper steps to hold an inquest, they were forced to pay murdrum, and as they had acted on their own initiative without co-operation with the men of the Hundred, the whole burden of the fine fell on the men who lived in the Old and the New town.[1] At this time the arrangement with the Abbot was that thieves taken in the town should be kept by night in the burgess's mill and by day in the Abbot's prison, and although the townsmen argued that they had as full a right to a prison as other Cinque Ports, they were forced in 1254 to renounce their chartered liberties " for them and their heirs for ever," because they so obviously contradicted the older charters of the Monastery.[2]

The surrender was of course only temporary, and the association with the Ports had apparently some effect since better terms were secured in 1258. The King's Mill, belonging to the Abbot and situated outside the borough, was now definitely abandoned by consent of the tenants, and in future the prison, though still the Abbot's, was to be made within the Thirty-Two Hawes. There were to be two keepers, one appointed by the town, the other by the Abbot, who were jointly responsible if the prisoners escaped. The Abbot's bailiff presented the prisoners and the keepers were responsible for taking them to the court for trial and for keeping them till execution of judgment.[3]

This agreement was not the end of the dispute. The town complained in 1282 and again later, that the Abbot had broken his side of the bargain by failing to appoint a keeper, so that the whole responsibility for escapes fell

[1] P.R.O., *Assize Roll* 361, m. 49 (1255).
[2] *Abbrev. Plac.*, p. 140 (1254).
[3] P.R.O., *Chanc. Misc.*, 64/1/27 (1258).

upon them.[1] On another occasion exactly similar charges were brought by the Abbot against the townsmen, who were said to have again usurped the liberty of infangenethef, erected a new gallows and hanged Patrick of Galewey and John le Ropere, while making claim also to utfangenethef, like other Barons of the Ports.[2]

The grant of the charter brought to a head more serious questions concerning the government of the town. These, which had been in dispute since 1241, were also the subject of agreement in 1258.[3] In the matter of taxation they were forced to compromise. Four years earlier the town had agreed that no sort of tallage or collection might be made except by leave of the Abbot and by his bailiffs.[4] Now he allowed that they might tax themselves for naval service, for the aid of the King or himself, and to sustain the liberty. The Abbot, however, reserved the right to fix the day of taxation, to approve the collectors and administer an oath to them, only his bailiff might make distress and one copy of the roll was deposited with him. For long after the chamberlains continued to present their accounts for audit at the Abbey.[5] Further, if the Alderman sounded the common horn to call a burgmote at other times than for the King's business, the death of a man, for ward or for fire, he was in mercy. The Alderman was now to be selected by the Abbot from three nominated by the town, and if there were no suitable candidate the Abbot might refuse to appoint. The townsmen were indeed far from establishing a commune, and as Barons of the Cinque Ports could hardly be expected to accept this as permanent.

Within a few years they were again asserting their right to tax, to blow the mote horn daily if need be, and to elect a mayor in place of an alderman, like the other Ports.[6]

[1] Statham, *Dover Charters*, London, 1902, pp. 17, 21, 25 (1282, 1285). P.R.O., *Parl. and Council Misc.*, 2/17 (1290).
[2] P.R.O., *Chanc. Misc.*, 64/1/27.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Abbrev. Plac.*, p. 140 (1254).
[5] Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
[6] Faversham MSS. P.R.O., *Chanc. Misc.*, 64/1/27.

In spite of the fact that many of the Head Ports had bailiffs as their chief officers, and that there was no mention of a mayor in the charters, Faversham clung obstinately to their claim. In the reign of Edward I an indenture of the town named the "mayor" where that of the Abbot named "alderman," [1] and in 1305 they were accused of having had a mayor for three years.[2] During the fourteenth century the right was apparently tacitly conceded to them.

This was the most important change in the government of the town effected by membership of the Cinque Ports, but there was also advance in other directions. The grant of the general charter to the Ports in 1278 [3] again led to trouble, the dispute this time being over manorial dues. As early as 1254 and again later, the Abbot complained of the withdrawal of the townsmen's rightful services,[4] and in the reign of Edward I it was alleged that they had refused suit at court, payment of relief, gavelsester—now asked of all brewers, fenestrage and toll, on the grounds of their Cinque Ports Charter.[5] The town, on the other hand, said that the Abbot had distressed them for services and customs never before due, and in particular for pickage and stallage. He had increased the rents of the stalls in the market and had asserted his right of pre-emption, not only for his own table but also for his charities.[6] The quarrel dragged on through the early years of the fourteenth century, with endless delays owing to failure to execute writs, or by reason of the absence of the Portsmen on the King's service.[7] Eventually an agreement was reached in 1310, by which the customs of gavel-

[1] Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
[2] Faversham MSS. P.R.O., *Chanc. Misc.*, 64/1/27.
[3] *Cal. Ch. R.*, II, 209.
[4] *Abbrev. Plac.*, p. 140. P.R.O., *Curia Regis Roll* 161, m. 9 (1259).
[5] Faversham MSS. (*c.* 1279). Cf. *Ch. Warr.*, I, 262 (1307).
[6] Statham, *op. cit.*, p. 23 (1285). P.R.O., *Parl and Council Misc.*, 2/17 (1290).
[7] Faversham MSS. Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 34149, ff. 33, 35, 37 (1304). *Hist. MSS. Com.*, VI, 508 (1305). *Abbrev. Plac.*, pp. 257, 298 (1305). P.R.O., *Chanc. Misc.*, 64/3/69 (34 Ed. I).

sester and fenestrage were remitted for a £10 yearly rent, and the Abbot waived his claim to toll from residents, while reserving that on strangers.[1]

The question of suit at court had also to be settled, since the grant of exemption from suit at shire and hundred and all "foreign" courts was hardly compatible with the earlier rights of the Abbot. The town laid claim to every jurisdictional liberty, claiming a three-weekly court with trial of cases of forestall, maim and bloodshed, debt and contracts, conventions and trespasses. The right was also asserted of hearing strangers' pleas of debt and contract daily and at any tide, just like the other Cinque Ports, and only the pleas of Shepway were excepted.[2] In making this claim the townsmen were generally sure of the powerful support of the Constable of Dover, whose interest as Warden of the Ports coincided with their own. As quasi-sheriff of the Ports he presided over the court of Shepway for the trial of cases which would normally be heard in the Eyre, and for the reversal of erroneous judgments given by the municipal officers. After the grant to the Ports in 1260 of a charter giving immunity from the common summons of the Eyre,[3] the Shepway became virtually the only court recognised by the Portsmen outside those of their own individual towns. They thus obtained complete exemption from the authority of the officers of other courts and from the necessity of assisting them in any way, either in the execution of their writs, unless sent through the Warden, or in making inquiry into crime and other matters. As sole intermediary between the King and the Ports, it was in the Warden's interest to support this immunity.

As early as 1226 the men of Faversham refused to allow an inquest to be held in a case of murder, and at the same time a jury called in a case of novel disseisin did not appear because of the Liberty of the Cinque Ports.[4] Early in the

[1] *Abbrev. Plac.*, p. 313. *C. Pat. R.* 1307–13, p. 322 (inspeximus, 1311).

[2] P.R.O., *Chanc. Misc.*, 64/1/27.

[3] *Cal. Ch. R.*, II, 25.

[4] P.R.O., *Assize Roll* 358, m. 21d, 14d.

fourteenth century the Sheriff made return to a royal writ that he was not allowed into the town to do execution, and in 1307, when the Abbey was in the hands of an escheator during a vacancy, the Mayor refused to sound the common horn at his request, because the townsmen did not wish to serve on an inquest with men of the "foreign" nor inquire into possessions of the Abbot outside the town.[1]

The inhabitants of Faversham did not at first recognise the importance of the Warden and his court, and there were also times when the Warden, acting in his own interests while officially looking after those of both King and Portsmen, was an uncertain ally.

In 1255 William Wade was disseised of his free tenement and shop by the Abbot, and instead of claiming trial at Shepway, tried to answer the Abbot's defence that the writ novel disseisin did not run in Ancient demesne, by a clumsy argument to the effect that Faversham had ceased to be demesne on the foundation of the Abbey. When the Warden appeared to claim the case, Wade tried to remedy his error, but it was then too late, the Abbot was dismissed *sine die* and Wade and his pledges were in mercy for having contradicted their first defence.[2]

At other times the intervention of the Warden was as embarrassing to the townsmen as it was to the Abbot. In 1258 Richard de Grey entered Faversham, assembled the commonalty and held a court, entertaining pleas belonging to the Abbot, and for this he was summoned to Westminster. At the same time it was claimed that he had broken the prison, released two merchants held there for withholding relief, and had taken them to his prison at Dover Castle.[3] It was perhaps as a result of this dispute that a few years later the town agreed that the Abbot should have trial of all pleas except those of Shepway, saving the rights of Dover.[4] A climax was reached in 1300 when the Warden

[1] Faversham MSS.
[2] P.R.O., *Assize Roll* 361, m. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, 362, m. 12.
[4] *Cal. Ch. R.*, III, 289 (confirmation, 1315, and Letters Patent of 1261).

Robert de Burghersh aroused the indignation of both parties. When he entered the town to hear pleas the Abbot justly claimed that he had no jurisdiction there except in case of default, and proceedings in the court of Shepway, of which there is unfortunately no record, resulted in the imprisonment of the Abbot in Dover Castle in revenge. A threat of excommunication by the Archbishop was unavailing, since the Warden as a royal officer was under the King's protection.[1] On this occasion the townsmen also felt themselves injured, and imitated the Abbot in bringing a suit against the Warden in the King's court, claiming trespass on their chartered liberties. The Warden won both cases as the King's servant, and the town was fined 500 marks for trespass against the King and his officer, and for usurping royal liberties not in their charter.[2]

Friction between Faversham and the Warden at this period was exceptional. A significant clause in the 1310 agreement with the Abbot that disputes should be tried in the King's court, but not at Shepway,[3] suggests that delinquents who had suffered in a too enthusiastic assertion of Ports' liberties were assured a sympathetic hearing there, and the townsmen were not so foolish as to quarrel with the president of the court. On the contrary, a well-timed and liberal gift of fish to Stephen de Pencestre, Warden in 1290, resulted in a successful claim of Shepway for them in in a suit with the Abbot which had been brought before Parliament.[4]

The same privilege proved useful also against other enemies, and a typical illustration of the practical assistance given to the men of Faversham by their combarons and their Warden is the case of Bartholomew de Badlesmere in 1254–5. Badlesmere was set upon in the market-place of Faversham, beaten, maltreated and robbed, but because he was within the Liberty of the Ports no attachment was

[1] *C. Cl. R.* 1296–1302, p. 582 [1302].
[2] *Abbrev. Plac.*, p. 245.
[3] *C. Pat. R.* 1307–13, p. 322.
[4] *Rot. Parl.*, I, 33a (1290). *C. Pat. R.* 1385–9, p. 465 (1388).

made. He brought his appeal four times in the Assize, and at last two representatives of Dover appeared in defence of their member, produced the charter of Faversham, and made a successful claim for trial at Shepway. On the appointed day the Barons of Faversham were at sea on the King's service, conveying him to Gascony, and according to custom were therefore given essoin. Badlesmere then returned to the county court, and at the third court another ally of Faversham appeared, the Warden himself, Bertram de Crioil. He produced a royal writ suspending proceedings until the return of the Portsmen and ordering trial at Shepway, unless by default it should revert to the King's court. Later the defendants appeared in answer to a writ ordering the Sheriff to proceed, and both the Warden and the Barons of the Ports appeared to prove that the accused was resident within the Thirty-Two Hawes, finding half a ship to the King's navy. The charter of 1252 was again produced and exemption from the Hundred Court asserted.[1]

The fact that the record of the agreements made with the Abbot in 1258 and later were asked for in the time of Edward III [2] suggests that the quarrels of the town and the Abbey were not yet over. Research among the records of the royal courts would probably produce further evidence, but the local records are missing. The victory was certainly not complete; in 1431 the Portmote was still the Abbot's court,[3] and in the sixteenth century Faversham was again appealing to the Ports for help.[4] Nevertheless at the end of the first century of their association with the Ports the townsmen could point to the positive gains of a charter, a mayor (albeit still under the nominal control of the Abbot) and the commutation of manorial dues. Association with the Cinque Ports had undoubtedly speeded up their progress towards autonomy. While most of their energies

[1] P.R.O., *Assize Roll* 361, m. 50.
[2] P.R.O., *Chanc. Misc.*, 64/1/21. [3] P.R.O., *Court Roll*, 180/73.
[4] *White Book of the Cinque Ports* (at Romney), f. 128 (1507).

had been spent in negotiations with their overlord, they had also greatly improved their position in other respects. They had obtained the privilege, normally only enjoyed by royal boroughs at that date, of freedom from the shire and hundred organisation, and even from attendance at the courts of the Eyre. Although the Warden was substituted for the Sheriff they had the advantage of trial at Shepway, where their combarons sat with him as judges.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that membership of the Cinque Ports also entailed new responsibilities. While it was in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries that Faversham derived most benefit from the connection, it was also at this time that the town made the most regular contributions to the naval service, which was the *raison d'être* of the early confederation.[1] The agreement with Dover was to provide one ship, and accordingly Faversham sent ships to the Welsh and Scottish wars of Edward I and II. This was a burden which tended to increase in inverse proportion to the national importance of the service. Although in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Ports were more rarely called upon, and the service was reduced to a fraction, the cost of equipping the larger ships now demanded was considerable. In 1626 Faversham had to contribute £60 towards the equipment of two ships.[2] The comparative prosperity of the town compared with the Head Ports led to its burden remaining unusually heavy. Thus in 1588 Faversham had still to provide one ship, although the total asked from the Ports was now only thirteen instead of fifty-seven vessels,[3] while in 1595 when Dover contributed the costs of fifty tons, Faversham had to pay for forty.[4]

Although the declining naval importance of the Ports resulted generally in a quickening of federal life in order to

[1] Cf. *Arch. Cantiana*, XXI, F. F. Giraud, The Service of Shipping of the Barons of Faversham.

[2] Faversham Wardmote Book No. 3, f. 150b.

[3] Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 35831, f. 321.

[4] Cinque Port MSS. (at Romney), Bdle. 17.

preserve their liberties, this had little direct effect upon the history of Faversham. The confederation was at no time a very close one, and had no far-reaching powers in the domestic arrangements of its members. While the representatives of the Head Ports met at least twice a year at the court held at Romney known as the Brodhull or Brotherhood, there was no permanent organisation, each town reserved its own form of municipal government, and the part played by a corporate member was small.

In the Shepway Faversham had an accepted position and received regular summons,[1] but in the Brodhull, the distinctive court of the confederation, held for their own affairs independently of any external authority, the townsmen had no permanent place. The principal business of the court was the regulation of the Yarmouth herring fair, which was the concern of the Head Ports only, and although other matters were discussed in the Brodhull, it was long before the advantage of securing the co-operation of the Members was recognised. The Faversham manuscripts include a summons to the Brodhull dated 1297, and there are entries of expenses of representatives there in the early fourteenth-century accounts,[2] but in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century attendance was rare. It was not until about 1597 that the increasing financial needs of the confederation in support of its privileges, resulted in the regular summons of the representatives of the corporate Members to the court known as the Guestling.[3] There is no evidence of a deliberately narrow policy, and the omission of the Members was probably on the grounds of economy[4]; minutes of the Brodhull were circulated to them, it was

[1] Cf. Statham, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 *sq.* (1358). John Harris, *History of Kent*, 1719 (Nota de regula quo modo curia de Shipweia ordinetur et observetur), Appendix, p. xxxviii.

[2] Faversham MSS. *Arch. Cant.*, X, Faversham Town Accounts, and *ibid.*, XIV. Municipal Archives of Faversham.

[3] *Black Book of Cinque Ports* (at Romney), ff. 72b–73. Cf. *ibid.*, ff. 44b *sq.* (1582).

[4] Faversham MSS., Bdle. 86 (Guestling Minutes), f. 30b (1599). Romney MSS., Bdle. 54 (1593).

always possible to make protest at the next meeting,[1] and the machinery of the confederation was at their disposal.

The whole organisation was built up with a view to the preservation of liberties, and an appeal from an injured community or individual rarely fell upon deaf ears. As early as 1347 three inhabitants of Faversham, who had been outlawed in the London Hustings, were sheltered from justice in the Ports.[2] In 1437–8 Dover was paid over £17 by the other Ports towards heavy expenses in a suit on behalf of Faversham,[3] and in 1578 a dispute between Faversham and London about the right of free buying and selling in Blackhall received the consideration of the Brodhull.[4] Private affairs might also be brought to the notice of the confederation. In 1462 the Mayor of Faversham who had been sued by a fellow citizen in the Exchequer for engaging in trade during his term of office, sought the advice of the Brodhull. They told him to examine the town customs, and agreed to bear part of the expenses of a petition to the King or Parliament for a pardon.[5] On one occasion the town asked help against an unruly town clerk, who had refused to take the oath of a jurat,[6] while on another it was a jurat who asked help because he had been unjustly deprived of office.[7]

Not only the ease of appeal to the Brodhull, but also the closeness of relations with their Head Port, explains the absence of an adequate representation of the Members. The account books of Dover [8] reveal a constant coming and going between Faversham and its Head Port. There were meetings to discuss policy, messengers were sent to look for sailors for the navy, officers came bringing money. The agreement made between them in 1436 shows the closeness

[1] *White Book of the Cinque Ports*, f. 263 (1566). *Black Book*, f. 47 (1583).
[2] *C. Cl. R.* 1346–49, p. 381. [3] *White Book*, ff. 10–11b.
[4] *Black Book*, f. 25b.
[5] *White Book of the Cinque Ports*, ff. 30–30b.
[6] Faversham MSS., Bdle. 86 (Guestling Minutes, 1616).
[7] Romney MSS., Bdle. 19 (1657).
[8] Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 29615–6. MSS. Egerton 2090–1.

of the relationship. In future Dover was to elect only one Member of Parliament, the other was to be selected from four nominated by Faversham, and Dover was to pay the wages of both.[1]

The financial contributions of the Members constituted their chief value in the eyes of the original Ports. There was no regular system of federal taxation, each year contributions were collected in a fixed proportion to meet current expenses exactly. The ordinary expenses of the confederation lay in solicitors' bills and legal costs, and might be met in four different ways. The most common of these was by levies known as "purses" to each of which Faversham contributed 5*s*., sometimes as many as seven purses being collected in one year.[2] According to the 1436 agreement with Dover, Faversham had to pay the Head Port 40*s*. a year and was in turn to be relieved of all charges excepting those of ship service and the gift to the Warden. The payment was continued until the eighteenth century,[3] although Faversham was still called on directly for contributions to general expenses, and in 1612 paid nearly £20.[4] A Faversham manuscript dated 1320 is the earliest evidence of the gift to the Warden on his installation, which generally amounted to £100, and to which Faversham might be asked to contribute as much as £5.[5]

The structure of the confederation in this, as in other matters, was, however, an adjustment of burdens and advantages, and in return for contribution to expenses which were generally estimated in their absence, the Members shared with the original Ports in exemption from national taxation. The allowance to Faversham in exemptions from a subsidy in 1494 was over £49 although Dover probably claimed a large share of it, and in 1547 the amount

[1] Statham, *op. cit.*, pp. 184 *sq.*

[2] *White Book of the Cinque Ports*, f. 41 (1471).

[3] Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 21, n. Cf. Faversham MSS., Bdles. 14 (1702), 45 (1625, 1659).

[4] Fordwich MSS. 12/1 (Guestling Minutes).

[5] Faversham MSS. (1320).

actually given to Faversham was only £14, the Head Port retaining the remainder.[1]

In return for the privileges of the Ports, the rebate on taxation, and the legal support of the Brodhull, Faversham had to accept the discipline of the confederation. In the reign of Edward I Dover wrote giving grave warning to its Member, that, unless the custom of the Ports of giving mainprise in cases of murder was observed, the Warden would undoubtedly enter the town to do justice, which would prove very prejudicial to both of them.[2] In the reign of Henry VI Dover sued Faversham in the Brodhull,[3] and in 1463 sealed a process of general withernam against the town for "misprisons, contempts and rebelyons," the amount claimed in damages being £20.[4]

The process of withernam was one of the doubtful blessings of membership of the Cinque Ports. It was a method, probably of Saxon origin, used for the recovery of debt against the inhabitants of another town and as a disciplinary measure within the Ports. In the course of a withernam against Rochester Faversham claimed that the procedure was based on custom peculiar to the Ports, and allowed them because of their perilous situation on the sea coast.[5] After due warning by three letters, the goods, and sometimes the person, of the next inhabitant of the debtor's town coming within the Liberty of the plaintiff's Port were arrested, and in extreme cases a "general withernam" might be issued, so that arrest could be made in any town of the confederation. Its essence was the courteous exchange of letters of request, reminiscent of a chivalric challenge. In 1621 Faversham wrote to the Port of Lydd:

We have received your letters and also your friendly and brotherlie procrastinatings and staie of judgement until you had . . .

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[1] Sandwich MSS. S.N. 9, f. 76b (1494). Dover, *Chamberlain's Accounts* (at Dover), 1547–58, f. 33.

[2] Faversham MSS. [3] Brit. Mus. MSS. Egerton 2105, f. 5b.

[4] *White Book of the Cinque Ports*, ff. 32b *sq.*

[5] Faversham MSS., Bdle. 134.

received our answer. . . . We returne you most hartie thanks for this your brotherly kindness, wherein you answer the true equitie and meaning of our process of withernam in the Ports, (the) which being repleat with words and terms of utilitie and friendship as from and unto Ports and members of one and the same body.[1]

The enormous number of letters of process preserved in the Faversham archives, all dating from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, testify to the popularity of the procedure, not only between the Ports, but against towns in Kent and as far afield as Newcastle, and for sums as small as 15*s*. or as large as £200.[2] But the truth was that the Ports were clinging with their usual obstinacy to an outworn privilege, which other towns, such as London, had long abandoned on account of its disadvantages especially in discouraging trade. Among strangers the use of the process aroused great enmity and one of the most interesting of the Faversham manuscripts is the account of a lively debate upon the subject with representatives of London. " Mr. Norton, one of the commissionated from London . . . did presume, and as this whole company thinke, very arrogantly . . . to take upon him, being an inferior to speake." He said that he had examined their old records and found " nothinge worthy of credit to prove such an absurde custome as nothinge may be more absurder as to take one man for another man's salt, and to make one man pay another man's debt." Mr. Fleetwood, Recorder, " then stepped up and said that this custome . . . was nether good, holesome nor mayntenable, nether by the law of God nor by the lawe of nature," and proceeded to prove his argument by quoting the story of the punishment of Cain for his own sins. As Recorder of London he himself would never allow the issue of so absurd a process. Mr. Lovelace, solicitor to the Ports, then hastened to make a defence, declaring the custom to appear less unreasonable when clothed and feathered. This roused Mr. Norton to fury, who again leapt up exclaiming :

[1] Faversham MSS., Bdle. 134. [2] *Ibid.*

"It is even as if one should treade upon Will Somer's heele and he turned backe and strike another that hurted him not. The feathers that you have put up to him by your reasons are like unto a parti cloake put upon the backe of an ape . . . but upon these speeches of his he was interupted by the whole house, who founde themselves greatly grieved."

Mr. Lovelace indeed remarked that these words were rather meet for an alehouse.[1]

On the whole, Faversham accepted the rulings of the confederation without question, used the advantages of membership where possible, and otherwise the inhabitants helped themselves. On one matter only did the town show signs of rebellion which threatened rupture, and this was with regard to the Warden's Chancery court at Dover.

The Warden had proved a good friend to the town in the early struggle with the Abbot, and in gratitude an annual gift of fish worth ten or eleven marks was paid him. By the end of the fourteenth century the gift was becoming a duty, and plaints were made that it had been exacted by duress.[2] In spite of a decision in favour of the town, in the reign of Edward IV it was stated that 144 fish were due annually on pain of five marks,[3] and in the sixteenth century there were further complaints of Wardens who claimed it as an ancient right.[4] The ill feeling bred by this dispute was undoubtedly partly responsible for the attitude taken by Faversham towards the Warden's jurisdiction.

The courts at Dover, a Chancery court for cases of equity, and an Admiralty court, were held in the church of St. James. They had been established some time towards the end of the fourteenth century to supplement the court of Shepway, which only met twice a year and only for one day at a time. The equitable jurisdiction was based upon the Warden's right of redressing false judgments given by

[1] Faversham MSS., Bdle. 84 (Guestling Minutes, 1574), ff. 2 *sq.*

[2] *Cal. Pat. R.* 1385–89, p. 465.

[3] Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 19990, f. 11.

[4] Dover MSS., Envelope 208 (letter from Faversham to Lord Rocheford, Warden, 1535).

the town officers, and was developed on the lines of the Westminster Chancery in order to preserve the immunity of the Portsmen from suit in foreign courts. The Ports tolerated it, in spite of some abuses, because it filled a real need in enabling them to preserve this highly valued exemption. Only Faversham, partly perhaps because it was just as convenient for its townsmen to go to Westminster as to Dover, took up an independent position. They demanded a rigid adherence to the terms of their thirteenth-century charter, refused to recognise any court except Shepway, and declared that the Warden's jurisdiction in case of default of justice must be exercised within the town itself. In 1446 they appealed to the King, making much of the unjust exaction of fish, and obtained a special charter confirming their right to plead only at Shepway and exempting them from the Admiralty court, and all other courts held by the Warden at Dover.[1] This charter, revoked by Edward IV, but later confirmed by Henry VIII, was regarded as open rebellion by Warden and Ports alike. The Warden was indignant at the loss of his profits of justice, the Portsmen were frightened of the results. As they pointed out, if Faversham refused judgment at St. James's they were "lawless and unpunishable in all matters and causes of equity"[2] knowing that they would of course resort to Westminster, and so threaten the whole carefully defended immunity of the Ports. They attacked the charter, claiming technical defects, and that it gave only exemption from the Admiralty court and common pleas, and did not extend to equity. Faversham, on the other hand, denied that the royal prerogative of equity could be delegated, especially to an officer who had not even the title of Chancellor.[3] The alleged immunity from the Admiralty court was easily defendable since in Faversham the right of wreck had

[1] *Cal. Ch. R.*, VI, p. 73. [2] Dover MSS., Envelope 208.

[3] Faversham MSS., Bdles. 106 (notes on the Chancery jurisdiction); 67 (Reasons for Faversham's exemption from the Chancery, Dover); 117 (Case of Faversham against Dover Castle jurisdiction, 1598).

belonged to the Abbot,[1] while all the Ports were agreed that Admiralty inquests should be held locally and not at Dover, but Faversham seems to have made no effort to enforce that privilege. The struggle centred round the Chancery court, attendance at which was certainly contrary to the terms of the general charter, if they were strictly interpreted.

Trouble had begun by 1566, when there is an entry in the town accounts of a special gift to the Lord Warden, partly because they had given him no present before, and partly for his good will in the dispute about St. James's court.[2] Apparently the gift was wasted, since in 1571 a case in the Portmote was stayed by a writ from the Chancery, and the town decided it was against their liberty and ought to be ignored.[3] In 1574 the other Ports came to an agreement with the Warden about the redress of certain abuses. Their policy with regard to the court was to reform, not to condemn, and they passed a resolution to punish those who attacked it.[4] From this agreement Faversham held aloof, declaring they could not discuss a court from which they were exempt by charter.[5] In 1593 they again petitioned the Warden against the issue of an injunction from his Chancery court, and passed a resolution to stand by their charters.[6]

The rest of the confederation, having settled their disputes with the Warden, viewed this insubordination with displeasure, and Faversham were made to feel the disciplinary powers of the Brodhull. By their action in respect to the judicial immunities which were the most treasured of the privileges of the Ports, Faversham were endangering

[1] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[2] Faversham MSS. *Wardmote Accounts* (Book I), f. 112b.

[3] *Ibid. Wardmote*, Book II (1571).

[4] Cinque Port MSS. (at Romney), Bdle. 23. Faversham MSS., Bdle. 84 (Guestling Minutes, 1581), ff. 11 *sq.*

[5] *Black Book of the Cinque Ports*, f. 48b. Faversham MSS., Bdle. 84 (Guestling Minutes), ff. 10–11; Bdle. 106 (Notes on the Jurisdiction of St. James's Court).

[6] Faversham MSS., *Wardmote*, 1579–1633 (Book III), ff. 35, 45.

the whole structure that had been built up and maintained at great cost. By their independence they were undermining the solidarity which was the strength of the confederation.

In 1598 Christopher Hudson of Faversham brought a plea of debt against Matthew Taylor in the Portmote. Taylor however appealed to the Dover Chancery and obtained an injunction, which Hudson refused to answer. When, by order of the Chancery, Hudson was arrested and imprisoned in Dover Castle, he procured a writ *de homine replegiando* from Westminster.[1] The Warden and the other Ports both took action. The former summoned representatives of Faversham to London to answer for their failure to attend the court,[2] he refused to release Hudson at their petition, and in 1599 the writ *de homine replegiando* was dismissed, because it was shown that the Chancery had been recognised by Faversham in the past.[3] The action taken by the Brodhull was more decisive. When representatives of Faversham came to the Guestling in 1599 it was discovered that they had not taken oath to uphold the liberties of the town, while Hudson was declared to have "factiously gone about to make a division" between the Warden and the Ports, and was therefore disfranchised. At the next meeting Faversham was fined for failure to administer oath to the representatives, and the officers were forced to confess that they had secretly encouraged Hudson, and to admit their wrong in so doing at the next Guestling. They were fined £20, but in 1600 this was remitted by special request of the Warden.[4]

If the Warden thought his clemency would breed a better spirit in the men of Faversham, he was mistaken. The town continued to refuse to obey writs from the Chancery,[5] and in 1603 the position was still so strained that

[1] Faversham MSS., Bdles. 106, 117.
[2] *Ibid.*, *Wardmote*, Book III, ff. 40b, 48b.
[3] Faversham MSS., Bdle. 106.
[4] *Black Book of the Cinque Ports*, ff. 82b, 85b, 87, 103. Faversham MSS. *Wardmote*, Book III, f. 49.
[5] Faversham MSS. *Wardmote*, Book III, ff. 53, 55 *sq.*, 65, 67, 74.

the Warden was " much offended " that one of the solicitors for the confirmation of the Charters was from Faversham, because " The inhabitants of Faversham ever opposed themselves against . . . his Lordship's jurisdiction of the Chancery Court of Dover." [1]

There are numerous records of cases in the Dover Chancery among the Faversham archives, but almost all were brought against the townsmen by strangers.[2] The reason for resort to the Chancery was generally the " very low and most unconscionable " proceedings in the Portmote,[3] or a verdict obtained by bribery of the Faversham jury,[4] and it is easy to understand why the town clung to its exemption. Not only were cases in the Portmote interrupted and judgments overruled, but process of withernam was frequently stayed.[5] At the same time there were the usual compensating advantages, and opponents noted that the town was ready enough to seek the Warden's help, even at Dover, and only refused to recognise the court when summoned as defendants.[6]

When the Warden would consent to sit in the town to exercise his equitable jurisdiction they were perfectly satisfied. In 1617, for instance, a plaint was brought in the Chancery of St. James against John Philpot, Mayor of Faversham, his predecessor Edward Hales and others, for an alleged illegal election. The plaintiffs were indicted for disturbance, and all but two submitted. These two put in new bills of plaint " stuffed full of scandals and impertinent matter." At this stage appeal was made to the Warden, who came and sat in the Guildhall of Faversham. He examined the records and declared there had been no breach of custom. The punishment given by the town to

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, XIII, iv (Rye MSS.), p. 128.
[2] Faversham MSS., Bdles. 64, 66, 67, 106, 109, 111.
[3] Faversham MSS., Bdle. 64. Colwell *v.* Savage, 1607.
[4] Faversham MSS., Bdle. 67. Bigge *v.* Suggler (seventeenth century).
[5] Faversham MSS., Bdle. 111. Manwoode *v.* Philpot.
[6] Faversham MSS., Bdle. 67. Reasons why inhabitants of Faversham denie to come to the Chauncerie Courte.

the plaintiffs was confirmed, since the Warden did not wish to add his penalties to those already given, and the bill in Chancery was cancelled. Further charges against the Mayor for unjust judgments were brought in the Chancery, apparently without protest from the town, and dismissed as scandalous.[1] Three years later further trouble occurred owing to an attempt to overthrow the Mercer's Company, and the Warden again sat in person in the Guildhall, confirmed the ordinances of the company and gave judgment for the plaintiffs.[2]

This account of the relations of Faversham with the Cinque Ports is necessarily incomplete, since no attempt has been made to describe the working of the confederation where there is not direct evidence of the part played in it by Faversham. The enormous mass of documents in the town archives at first suggest that the confederation counted for very little. Faversham was called upon to provide its ship for the navy and to pay its contribution to the Head Port and to the Brodhull, but its municipal constitution, its officers, courts and finance were absolutely independent, and reference to the Ports' affairs in the records of the Port and Ward Motes are very few. Yet to a young urban community, struggling to free itself from the manorial system and an ecclesiastical overlord, association with the Cinque Ports was invaluable. Not only did the men of Faversham inherit a ready-made charter, but also the means to defend it, and in the struggle with their overlord they could rely on the support of their combarons. To a more established and prosperous town membership was less obviously advantageous, particularly when the confederation had become an archaeological survival, clinging to its privileges for very life with a most rigid conservatism. Nevertheless, there were still advantages in association, and the very looseness of the organisation and lack of control in municipal affairs, was in favour of its perpetuation.

The history of Faversham and the Ports well illustrates

[1] *Orders of Chancery* (Dover), I, ff. 21, 24, 28. [2] *Ibid.*, f. 99.

the strength and weaknesses of the confederation. It was lacking in vigorous and imaginative policy and stunted in constitutional development, but in the limited field of defence of chartered liberties it supplied a need, as is seen in the continued allegiance of its members.

Professor Callender made the following comments in the course of a discussion of Miss Murray's paper:

The story of the Cinque Ports falls into four sharply defined periods: (*a*) Pre-Conquest; (*b*) Formative, 1066–1204; (*c*) Thirteenth Century; and (*d*) Survivals. Those who are but mildly interested in the subject can afford to ignore the first period (short) and the last period (long).

In 1066 the English Channel in a political sense dried up. But in a physical sense, its waters cleft the Norman possessions by a chasm which even present-day engineers could not bridge. Hence arose the Cinque Port system in its first important phase: the five harbours with their ships undertook to bridge the Channel where the Channel is narrowest and in return received from the King privileges commensurate with their obligation. This state of things was entirely changed with the loss of the French possessions by John. In two respects this is obvious: the opposite sides of the Channel were no longer under one crown, and the salutary check of a strong sceptre was withdrawn. But there is another aspect of the question, less apparent and more significant.

Nature has endowed these islands with a basis of naval power, which was even more pronounced in the thirteenth century than to-day. There were then three "oceans" only: the Northern waters, the Western, and the Mediterranean. The first and second had in the thirteenth century no direct commerce with the third, but conducted a vast trade one with the other. Like the two bulbs of an hour-glass they were connected by the wasp-waist which we call the "Strait of Dover." By virtue of the land

salient, thrust seawards by the county of " Kent," England (without controlling either Northern or Western waters) could strategically (when she pleased) dominate both.

John realised acutely his need of sea-power and endeavoured to establish a Navy, properly so called. Failing to do so, he surrendered his Trident to the Cinque Ports, who not only tyrannised over the Strait of Dover, but so aggrandised themselves in the process, that they might almost be said to hold the balance of power as between England and France. Their despotism, however, was for the most part as mercenary as that of the Phœnicians of old or the Dutch in the fifty years previous to 1653. And here we have the main reason for the growth of the confederation ; new havens (or inland towns) shouldered the obligations imposed by membership in the very human expectation of inflated dividends and quick returns. If not more culpable than Venice in the plenitude of her power, the Cinque Ports would in time have given these islands an unsavoury reputation for brigandage, but for the fact that the Trident was recovered by the Crown as the thirteenth century ended. Like his two immediate predecessors, Edward I deliberately delegated maritime responsibility, but on a basis of law as opposed to lawlessness, of justice as opposed to pillage. He created the Emir-al-Mar, or Admiral, who may have taken 163 years to consolidate and centralise his power (or " admiralty "), but who, first learning the fundamentals of good government, then proceeded to exact obedience from the Narrow Seas, and ultimately imposed his thalattocracy on the wider seas beyond.

The results of Miss Murray's interesting researches into the history of Faversham are significant as illustrating the ingenious efforts of that community to join the flourishing Cinque Port confederation as a mode of escape from the tiresome trammels of manorial and monastic jurisdictions.

THE JACOBITE ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH AND WEST ENGLAND IN THE SUMMER OF 1715

By Sir Charles Petrie, Bt., M.A., F.R.Hist.Soc.

Read 14 *March*, 1935

It is now generally admitted that of the two principal Jacobite risings, namely the Fifteen and the Forty-Five, the former, although it never came so near to success as the latter, was infinitely better conceived. Yet those who have not studied it in any detail cannot but be astonished at the alarm which it caused the Government of the day. Mar was a far more contemptible commander than Prince Charles Edward or Lord George Murray, while, on the other side, Argyll was greatly superior to the luckless Cope. As for the English Jacobites, the distinction between their behaviour in 1715 and 1745 seems to have been without a difference, for if a few of them did take up arms on the earlier occasion their intervention had no appreciable effect. In these circumstances it is only natural that the question should be asked what justification there is for the statement that the Fifteen was so much more dangerous to the new dynasty than the Forty-Five. The answer lies in the Jacobite activities in the South and West of England during the twelve months that followed the death of Anne, and, in view of their importance, it is surely no exaggeration to say that they have not hitherto received the attention which they deserve.

As in the case of those other conspiracies on behalf of the exiled dynasty which never came to fruition, such as the Elibank Plot of 1752–3, the evidence is not easy to find. The English Jacobites were notoriously cautious, and the

first hint of suspicion on the part of the authorities was usually the signal for a holocaust of incriminating documents. Nevertheless, in the West of England in particular so great was the agitation in the summer and early autumn of 1715 that very definite traces of it have survived.

In the first place, there are the *Stuart Papers* at Windsor, which for this period have largely been printed by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. In them can be traced the main outline of what may be termed the Jacobite plan of campaign ; while a curious, if by no means reliable, commentary on the latter is afforded by Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Wyndham.* The *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick* throw further light upon the projects of James and his advisers. These projects were, in their turn, dependent upon the state of public opinion in England itself, and this is admirably reflected, not only in *The Political State of Great Britain,* but also in contemporary newspapers, to which sufficient attention would hardly seem to be paid by many students of the early eighteenth century. There are also many other authorities, too numerous to mention individually ; while of modern works it would be ungenerous to ignore Miss Handasyde's study of Lord Lansdowne under the title of *Granville the Polite.* A careful examination of these and other sources enables us to reconstruct the details of a conspiracy in the south and west of England which, considered in conjunction with what was happening in other parts of Great Britain, the Government of the day rightly took very seriously indeed.

It had been generally surmised that the crisis would come at the death of Anne, but, as Bolingbroke put it, " when the bolt fell, most of our party appeared as much surprised as if they had had no reason to expect it. There was a perfect calm and universal submission through the whole kingdom." [1] Whether the Tory submission was as complete as Bolingbroke writing his *apologia* three years later would have us believe, or whether it was due to the failure of the

[1] *A Letter to Sir William Wyndham.*

Tory leaders, not least Bolingbroke himself, to act at the critical moment, is a problem which need not concern us here. What is clear is that the effect of the stupefaction soon began to wear off, and one of the most important reasons for this was the avowed determination of the victorious Whigs to ensure that they alone should enjoy the sweets of office under the new monarch. This rallied the Hanoverian Tories to the side of James. To quote Bolingbroke once again :

> I went, about a month after the Queen's death, as soon as the seals were taken from me, into the country ; and whilst I continued there, I felt the general disposition to Jacobitism increase daily among people of all ranks ; among several who had been constantly distinguished by their aversion to that cause. But at my return to London in the month of February or March, 1715, a few weeks before I left England, I began for the first time in my whole life to perceive those general dispositions ripen into resolutions, and to observe some regular workings among many of our friends, which denoted a scheme of this kind.[1]

In this matter the memory of Bolingbroke did not betray him, for we know that on his arrival in France he spoke in this sense to Berwick,[2] while, in the part of the country with which we are concerned this afternoon, there had been a Jacobite riot at Bristol, accompanied by loss of life, as early as October of the previous year.[3]

The meeting of Parliament, with its Whig majority, in March, 1715, and the measures which were adopted against the Tory leaders convinced an ever-increasing number of the latter's followers that in Jacobitism lay their only hope, and the rumblings of the coming storm became audible. It was in March that Bolingbroke himself fled overseas, disguised with a black wig and a theatrical riding-coat buttoned over his chin. At the beginning of April an Irish

[1] *A Letter to Sir William Wyndham.*
[2] *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick,* vol. ii, pp. 201 *et seq.*
[3] *H.M.C. Stuart Papers,* vol. i, p. 335.

Catholic was at Lincoln put in the pillory, and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, for having proclaimed James at Boston,[1] while on the 23rd of the same month, being the anniversary of Anne's coronation, there were riots in London, when, to quote a contemporary newspaper,[2] the Jacobites

> insulted those that were passing the streets about their lawful occasions, robbed them of their hats, wigs, etc., buffeted them, and threatened farther mischief if they would not huzza "God bless the Queen and High Church!"

These events were followed by indignant letters in the Press, one of which asserted that a friend of the writer had been wounded by a knife fastened to the end of a stick, while another wrote that

> a great number of Jacobites make use of a large room that is over a coffee-house in the Aldersgate Street to meet in on Sundays, and that they have a non-Juring parson, who officiates to them, where they make their boasts that they pray for the right King, as they call the Pretender: the door is carefully kept, and none admitted but such as they think they can trust.[3]

These protests were usually accompanied by dark hints that the magistrates were deliberately refusing to do their duty.

The anniversay of the Restoration of Charles II, 29 May, was the signal for further activities on the part of the Jacobites. As it happened, the birthday of George I was the day before, so the adherents of the rival monarchs had exceptional opportunities for coming into conflict. In London, Aldersgate Street was a centre of disorder, which would seem to give point to the charge made in the letter quoted above, and at Highgate the local Whigs received a severe drubbing from a crowd shouting, "High Church and Ormond."[4] At Oxford the celebrations were marked by greater disorder. On the evening of the 28th the members

[1] *The Flying-Post*, 21–3 April, 1715. [2] *Ibid.*, 23–6 April, 1715.
[3] *Ibid.*, 5–7 May, 1715. [4] *Ibid.*, 28–31 May, 1715.

of the Constitution Club, a Whig club consisting of both dons and undergraduates, met at the " King's Head " to celebrate the Royal birthday, which they proposed to do by having a bonfire, and burning in effigy Queen Anne, the Duke of Ormonde, and Dr. Sacheverell. This was asking for trouble. It was, moreover, market-day, so that the streets were crowded, and when the Jacobite leaders, who had taken a room at the " King's Head " above that in which their opponents were meeting, began to order drinks for the crowd below, a tumult soon began.

> The mob threw the bonfire about, and guzzled up the drink, while some company in the same house threw money out of the window to them to indulge them in their insolence, by which they were gathered to a very great head, and many of the scholars now mixed with them.[1]

The Proctors then arrived on the scene, and ordered all the members of the University at the " King's Head " back to their colleges. This, however, did not terminate proceedings, for an Oriel man got into New College, and fired a pistol from one of the windows, though without hurting anyone. Hearne well described the state of public opinion :

> This being the Duke of Brunswick, commonly called King George's, birthday, some of the bells were jambled in Oxford by the care of the Whiggish fanatical crew ; but as I did not observe the day in the least myself, so it was little taken notice of (unless by way of ridicule) by other honest people, who are for King James III, who is the undoubted King of these kingdoms, and 'tis heartily wished by them that he may be restored.[2]

The next night, about eleven o'clock, another Oriel undergraduate, this time from his own college, fired at and wounded a B.N.C. Jacobite returning home, and this was a signal for further disturbances in the High, during the course of which the windows of both the colleges concerned were broken.[3] What is remarkable about these events is that

[1] *The St. James's Post*, 30 May–1 June, 1715.
[2] *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, vol. i, pp. 329 *et seq.*
[3] *The Post Boy*, 2–4 June, 1715.

the authorities took no disciplinary action beyond gating a few of the ringleaders, which would seem to show where their sympathies lay. It only remains to add that one of the London newspapers commented on the proceedings in the following somewhat sententious terms :

> If such examples as these are given in one of our nurseries of religion and learning, we may quickly expect to find all our endeavours towards promoting piety and virtue will grow vain and useless, and that mobbing, resistance, and impiety will come to be more profitably introduced into education. [1]

On 10 June, James's birthday, there were riots all over the country. They were particularly violent in West Bromwich,[2] Wolverhampton,[2] Manchester,[3] Warrington,[4] and Leeds,[4] but the Jacobite activities in the Midlands and North do not come within the scope of our present inquiry. At Norton St. Philip and Woolverton in Somerset the church bells were rung, and the health of King James III was publicly drunk.[3] Further evidence of the feeling in this part of Somerset is afforded by an anonymous correspondent to *The Flying-Post*, writing from Beckington, near Frome :

> Two of our rioters on the Coronation Day . . . are bound over to the Assizes for scandalous and seditious words against the King, too vile to be repeated ; yet the parson of the parish was pleased to appear on their behalf, and gave them a very good character to the Justice, though one of them is known to be as scandalous a fellow as any in the country.[5]

The borders of Somerset and Wiltshire clearly contained a good many zealous Jacobites at this time, for in the following October, at Quarter Sessions at Marlborough, one John Napper, a clothier of Trowbridge, was convicted of having uttered " villainous words highly reflecting on His Sacred Majesty King George," and, after being fined, was compelled to make public recantation in Trowbridge market-place.[6]

[1] *The St. James's Post*, 30 May–1 June, 1715.
[2] *The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. x, pp. 65 *et seq.*
[3] *The Flying-Post*, 14–16 June, 1715.
[4] *Ibid.*, 14–16 June, 1715. [5] *Ibid.*, 14–16 June, 1715.
[6] *The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. x, pp. 416 *et seq.*

Gloucester was another centre of disturbance on 10 June. What occurred there is, perhaps, best described in a letter from a local Whig, which, after relating that the Jacobites of that city held a dinner at the "Swan," goes on to say that

amongst their drunken tumultuous songs, they gave such disturbance to a neighbouring alderman, Mr. Samuel Hayward, a pious and very ancient gentleman, that he thought himself obliged in justice to his King, his country, and the Protestant religion, to put a stop to their insolent proceedings; but such was the villainy of the cowardly faction that, notwithstanding his age and magistratical authority, they abused and beat him in such a manner that he is now in a weak and dangerous condition.[1]

At Oxford the rejoicings were on a more modest scale than they had been on 29 May, for the University authorities were becoming apprehensive of the consequences to themselves of allowing Jacobite enthusiasm to go unchecked. Hearne celebrated the day with a party of friends, mostly Balliol men, at Foxcombe, but Wadham was illuminated.[2]

It would be easy to attach too much importance to such incidents as these, were it not for the fact that in nearly every case the local authorities appear to have been either unable or unwilling to repress Jacobite zeal. That the Government took a serious view is clear from the fact that on 15 July the matter was discussed in the House of Commons, where it was resolved

That an Humble Address be presented to His Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions to the several magistrates throughout the kingdom against all such persons who shall be found any way concerned in the late rebellious and tumultuous riots and disorders committed, and now carrying on, in several parts of this kingdom by persons disaffected to His Majesty and his Government; and that a strict enquiry be made, who are the promoters and authors of the said tumults and riots; and that an account be taken of such Justices of the Peace as have failed in the discharge of their duty on these

[1] *The Flying-Post*, 12–14 July, 1715.
[2] *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, vol. i, pp. 329 *et seq.*

occasions; and that such Justices, who shall appear to His Majesty to have neglected their duty, be forthwith put out of the Commissions of the Peace; and that such other magistrates who shall appear to His Majesty to have neglected their duty therein, may be proceeded against with the utmost rigour of the law. . . .[1]

As the summer advanced the disturbance increased, and there was rioting in Stafford,[2] Shrewsbury,[2] Newcastle-under-Lyme,[3] Wigan,[4] Worcester,[3] Lichfield,[3] and Wolverhampton,[3] in addition to a renewal of the outbreaks in some of the places already mentioned. In nearly every case, attacks were principally directed against the Dissenters' meeting-houses, and in many instances the magistrates showed such leniency towards the Jacobites as practically to amount to complicity in their designs. July, indeed, witnessed remarkable activity on the part of the opponents of the new dynasty, and that so far afield as Shrewsbury,[5] Bridgnorth,[5] Birmingham,[5] Dudley,[5] Sheffield,[5] Wrexham,[6] Wem,[5] and Bath.[5] These events thoroughly alarmed the Government, and the Riot Act of 1553,[7] making the wrecking of registered places of worship a capital offence, was renewed.[8] Meanwhile, the Tory leaders were impeached, but as Bolingbroke and Ormonde had by then fled to France, only Oxford and Strafford were actually arrested. The severity of these measures defeated their purpose, and Hoffmann, the Prussian Minister, wrote that the cause of James had made a greater advance in eight months than in the four years of Tory ministry in the previous reign.

In spite of the action of the Legislature the month of August saw little diminution in the rioting, of which Oxford now became the centre. On the 1st, the anniversary of the new King's accession, hardly any Heads of Houses placed candles in their windows in honour of the event, and those

[1] *The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. x, pp. 65 *et seq.*
[2] *The Flying-Post*, 14–16 July, 1715.
[3] *Ibid.*, 16–19 July, 1715.
[4] *Ibid.*, 12–14 July, 1715.
[5] *Ibid.*, 16–19 July, 1715.
[6] *Ibid.*, 26–8 July, 1715.
[7] 1 Mar., st. 2, c. 12.
[8] 1 C. I, st. 2, c. 5.

Whigs who did so, notably the Recorder and one or two shopkeepers in the High and the Corn, had their windows broken by a crowd composed both of undergraduates and citizens. To quote Hearne once again :

> This being the day on which the late Queen Anne died, and on which George, Duke and Elector of Brunswick, usurped the English throne, there was very little rejoicing in Oxford. For though it be appointed a public thanksgiving, and though Dr. Gardiner, our present pharisaical Vice-Chancellor, in a silly programme he has published, calls it a just occasion of rejoicing, yet the generality of people turned it rather into a day of mourning. The bells only jambled, being pulled by a parcel of children and silly people, and there was not so much as one good peal rung in Oxford. Many shops were opened, and such as kept them shut (excepting the Puritans) did it more out of sorrow than joy. There was a sermon at St. Mary's by Dr. Panting, Master of Pembroke ; but few people were at the thanksgiving service. For my own part, I did not stir out, but kept in a mourning condition at home. Dr. Panting is an honest gentleman. His sermon took no notice, at most very little, of the Duke of Brunswick.[1]

A few weeks later when one Captain Burrows arrived to beat up for Dragoons, he and his men were pelted with stones by Balliol undergraduates. Queen's was another college which was strongly Jacobite on this occasion. In the end Captain Burrows seems to have been compelled to desist from his recruiting activities, for he and his troopers had finally to be rescued by the Vice-Chancellor and the Proctors from an enraged crowd yelling, " No Hanover, no Marlborough, but a Stuart and a Berwick : Ormonde and no King George." [2] A correspondent of *The Flying-Post* wrote to that paper, " Things are come to that pass here that if any tradesman speaks a word against such proceedings he is threatened with ruin, for there's hardly a college servant, such as manciples and cooks, but are Jacks." [3]

[1] *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, vol. i, pp. 329 *et seq.*
[2] *The St. James's Evening Post*, 30 Aug.–1 Sept., 1715.
[3] *The Flying-Post*, 30 Aug.–1 Sept., 1715.

During the month of August there were riots at Peterborough,[1] Leek,[2] and Burton-on-Trent,[2] in addition to renewed disturbances at many places already mentioned.

This brief recital of Jacobite activities testifies to the unpopularity of the new dynasty, and the disturbances lost nothing in the telling either in London or in Lorraine, where James was then residing. The Duke of Berwick believed that five-sixths of the population was in favour of the Stuarts,[3] and in July, Ormonde sent a Father Callaghan, a Dominican, to James at Bar, beseeching him to come to England in person without delay.[4] James was at first inclined to comply with Ormonde's request, and actually ordered a ship to be ready for him at Le Havre; but he was persuaded by Louis XIV, Bolingbroke, and Berwick to await further information as to the preparations which his English supporters had made for a rising. In the end, all this unrest did the Stuart cause more harm than good, for it alarmed the Government, and so the latter was already on its guard by the time that its enemies were prepared to strike.

The wisdom of the French King in urging caution upon James was soon justified by the action of Ormonde, who fled to France soon after he had asked his royal master to come to England. Ormonde had retired to Richmond after his impeachment was voted on 17 June, and from there had been preparing for a rising in the West. His instruments were the Tory officers whom the new administration had retired, and his plan was to obtain possession of Plymouth, Bristol, and Exeter, which were to be the centres of the rising. It was believed that from Richmond he intended to withdraw into Devon, and relays of horses were ready to enable him to do so. When, however, he heard that the Government was sending troops to Richmond to arrest him, Ormonde lost his head, and escaped to France on 21 July

[1] *The Flying-Post*, 9 Aug.–11 Aug., 1715. [2] *Ibid.*, 1–3 Sept., 1715.
[3] *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, vol. ii, pp. 201 *et seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*

without even leaving any instructions behind him.[1] The truth is that Ormonde was a greatly overrated figure; his liberality and his genial manner made him popular, and because he was popular it came to be assumed that he must be a leader of men. Nevertheless, his flight was a severe blow to the English Jacobites, for it deprived them, if not of a leader, at least of a rallying-point, while it undoubtedly served to cool the ardour of the French Government.

The Jacobite leaders had been Ormonde, Arran, Mar, Wyndham, and Lansdowne. The first was now out of the country, while the second has been well described by a recent writer as

> merely the shadow of his brother Ormonde . . . he, though the figure-head of the conspiracy, took little active part in its preparation, preferring to give great dinners at his house in Richmond, where he talked largely of his challenge to the Government and of the mob which would rise to defend him, until the morning when, more prudent counsels prevailing, he slipped away unattended to France.[2]

As Mar was primarily concerned with Scottish affairs, this left the English preparations in the hands of Lord Lansdowne and Sir William Wyndham, with the assistance of Ormonde's secretary, Sir John Maclean, who had remained behind in England when his master went to France.

After the departure of Ormonde the lead in the West was taken by Lansdowne, and from his house of Longleat the conspiracy was directed. A Jacobite arsenal was established at Bath, where there were collected three pieces of cannon, with the means of casting more, as well as eleven chests of firearms, and a hogshead full of basket-hilt swords.

[1] Ormonde probably sailed from Shoreham, cf. *S.A.C.*, vol. xxv, p. 172. Carte, in a Memo. of July, 1739, says that the night Ormonde left Richmond the Cabinet decided that the Elector should embark for Holland if the Duke set up His Majesty's standard in any part of England, it being their unanimous opinion that the army would not stand by them, or, if it would, it would be too weak to defend them against the vast numbers he would have with him.

[2] Handasyde, E., *Granville the Polite*, p. 144.

Further arms had been ordered from France. The plan of campaign at this time was for the rising to begin in several places in the West simultaneously, but for the centre of it to be at Bath. The first step was then to be the seizure of Bristol, where a merchant of the name of Hart was the moving spirit, and of Plymouth, where Maclean claimed to have won over the officers in command of the garrison.[1] This would give the Jacobites possession of the two great seaports of the West, and thus enable them to communicate with their friends on the Continent. It was sound strategy, and showed that the lessons of the Civil War in the previous century had not been forgotten.

It had not been easy for James and his advisers to discover the exact position, and Allan Cameron, a brother of Lochiel, who had already been in England in June, was sent over again to find out the real state of affairs. Cameron landed at Deal, where the news of Ormonde's flight reached him, and where he himself was arrested: however, after being taken to London, he contrived to escape, and got into communication, through one Menzies, with Mar, Arran, Lansdowne, and Wyndham. Cameron's negotiations with Mar do not concern us here, and when they were over Wyndham sent the envoy to the West, where he embarked at Weymouth. Cameron reported that the advice of the English Jacobite leaders was that James should not lose a day in coming over.[2] On this occasion, at any rate, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that such optimism was not unjustified, for the tide of Hanoverian unpopularity was rising rapidly, and a rising in the West, combined with that of Forster in Lancashire, of Kenmure in the Lowlands, and of Mar in the Highlands, might well have brought the Stuarts back to the throne. What did more than anything else to disappoint these hopes was the death of Louis XIV on 1 September, and Mar's precipitate action on the 6th.

[1] Cf. *Compleat History of the late Rebellion*, 1716, p. 31, and Dawk's *News-letter*, 24 Sept., 1715.

[2] *H.M.C. Stuart Papers*, vol. iii, pp. 557 *et seq.*

The Government had by now got wind of the conspiracy, at any rate so far as the South and West of England were concerned, and on 2 September a Lieutenant-Colonel Paul, of the First Regiment of Foot Guards,[1] was arrested on the charge of enlisting men in the service of James. Two days later the titular Duke of Powis was taken, on the 21st the same fate befell Lords Lansdowne and Duplin, while a warrant was issued for the arrest of the Earl of Jersey. On the 21st, too, Stanhope secured the consent of the House of Commons to the arrest of six of its members, namely Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Edward Harvey, Thomas Forster, John Anstis, and Corbet Kynaston.[2] The consent of the House was given *nem. con.*, and there is no record of the numbers of those who were absent or refused to vote.[3]

The Government had only just struck in time, for the Jacobites were already mustering at Bath, where they announced that the Scottish rising was a mere diversion, and that the real blow was to be delivered in the West of England. The arrival of Sir William Wyndham was the signal for a great demonstration of loyalty to James, and there was much ringing of church bells. However, as so often, the Jacobites had waited too long, and the news of what was happening in London brought about the rapid dispersal of those who had gathered at Bath. On the same day that the House of Commons gave its consent to the arrest of its members, a Colonel Husk, of the Guards, was sent with a messenger to arrest Wyndham at his seat, Orchard Wyndham, near Minehead, in Somerset. Colonel Husk arrived there between four and five the following morning, and, not unnaturally, had some difficulty in secur-

[1] This was Marlborough's own regiment. The Duke had contributed £4,000 in all to James's service between April and August.

[2] Respectively M.P.s for Somerset, Worcester, Clitheroe, Northumberland, Launceston, and Shrewsbury. Wyndham and Anstis are the subject of biographies in the *D.N.B.* For Packington, cf. also *The Lockhart Papers*, vol. i, p. 441.

[3] *The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. x, pp. 310 *et seq.*

ing access to his prospective prisoner at so early an hour. What followed is perhaps best described by a contemporary writer.

Sir William Wyndham presently leaped out of bed, and came in his gown to the colonel, who told him he was his prisoner; the messenger at the same time showing the badge of his office. Sir William told him that he readily submitted, but desired no noise might be made to frighten his lady, who was with child. They then entered a chamber, where the colonel seeing Sir William's coat and waistcoat lie told him he had orders to seize all his papers, and that he must take leave to search his pockets, wherein he found a bundle of papers, which he secured. Sir William would have diverted him, by offering him very frankly the keys of his *escritoire* to search; but the colonel happened to have the main chance before (finding nothing in the *escritoire*), as he had reason to guess by the great disorder and confusion he could perceive in Sir William's looks, when he took the said bundle out of his waistcoat pocket. Sir William then desired the colonel that he would stay until seven o'clock, and he would order his own coach and his horses to be got ready, which would carry them all; telling the colonel he would only go in and put on his clothes, and take leave of his lady, and then he would wait on him. The colonel, who had particular directions to use him with decorum, readily complied with this request, looking on it as his parole to return, but he soon found himself mistaken in the person whose honour he had trusted to, for though the colonel had caused two doors of Sir William's bed-chamber to be secured, yet there being a third, he made his escape through it.[1]

A Proclamation for Wyndham's arrest was thereupon issued, and a reward of a thousand pounds offered to whoever should take him. Wyndham disguised himself as a clergyman, and made across country, possibly in the hope of getting to the coast, to Surrey, where he sent a letter to a friend asking for shelter. The friend was away, and the letter was opened by his wife. This lady was terrified at the prospect of her husband becoming an accessory to treason, and so gave information to the authorities. Wynd-

[1] *The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. x, pp. 341 *et seq.*

ham heard what had happened, and after a visit to his father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, at Syon House, surrendered to his brother-in-law, Lord Hertford, who was a captain in the Life Guards. Of the other suspected M.P.s, Kynaston made his escape,[1] Forster took part in the rising in the North, and Packington was arrested at his house in Gloucestershire.

After securing the ringleaders of the projected western rising the Government proceeded to move into the disaffected area such forces as might deter their followers from using the arms which had been collected. Lord Berkeley, the Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, secured Bristol with Stanwick's, Pocock's, and Chudleigh's regiments of foot, and part of Lumley's horse, and arrested, among other Jacobites, Mr. Hart, of whom mention has already been made. Major-General Wade occupied Bath with Windsor's regiment of horse and Rich's Dragoons, and seized the arsenal which had been established there, together with about two hundred horses which were to have mounted the Jacobite cavalry.[2] In Cornwall, where Hugh Boscawen, later first Viscount Falmouth, headed the Whig interest, similar precautions were taken; and on 8 October Sir Richard Vyvyan, one of the leading Jacobites in that county, was brought up to London under arrest. That the Government only acted just in time is further proved by the fact that James was actually proclaimed at St. Columb.[3] In none of the western counties, however, was there any effective opposition to the Government's measures, for the Jacobites were everywhere bewildered by the arrest of their leaders. Had Ormonde withdrawn to Bath, instead of escaping to France, the story might well have been very different.

In the South of England the centre of Jacobite activity in the early autumn was, as had been the case all summer,

[1] He died in 1740.

[2] There were several arrests at Bath, and among the Jacobites taken from there to London were Colonel Lansdowne, Captains Doyle and Sinclair, Sir George Brown, Mr. Macartey, Mr. Dun, and Mr. Macdonnell.

[3] *The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. x, pp. 341 *et seq.*

Oxford. Ormonde had resigned the Chancellorship of the University at the time of his flight, and the graduates gave proof of their sentiments by electing his brother, Arran, in his place by a big majority over the Earl of Pembroke, the Whig nominee. On 26 September he was installed, and the event was made the occasion for great Jacobite demonstrations, while several supporters of the exiled dynasty were given degrees. The political atmosphere of Oxford at the end of September can well be gauged by a sentence from a letter of an undergraduate to a friend in London: "I think myself very happy in being settled in this so loyal place, and only want your good company to complete it; for here we fear nothing, but drink James's health every day." [1] In addition to the Jacobites of the University, there were also in Oxford a number of officers who had been dismissed on account of their opinions, notably a Colonel Owen, and these were in touch with the conspirators in Bath and Bristol. Nevertheless, as in those towns, it was the Government which struck first.

So menacing did the situation appear that Major-General Pepper did not dare to move on Oxford directly, but ordered his march as if he were making for Bath or Bristol. Meanwhile, he sent a cornet into the city disguised as a countryman to note all the more important strategic points. During the night of 5–6 October, he himself made a forced march with his own regiment of Dragoons and a detachment of Tyrrel's, and entered the city the moment the gates were opened in the morning. Once inside, he dismounted his men, and secured all the points of vantage that the cornet suggested. This done, General Pepper proceeded to arrest some ten or eleven suspects,[2] but he failed to catch Colonel Owen, who took refuge in Magdalen, which the soldiers made no effort to enter. Possibly their commander remembered

[1] *The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. x, pp. 341 *et seq.*

[2] The most important of these were Mr. Gordon, Mr. Ken, Mr. Dorrel, Mr. Wilson, Captain Halstead, Mr. Spelman, of Norfolk, and one Lloyd, who kept a coffee-house at Charing Cross. Cf. *The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. x, pp. 341 *et seq.*

what had followed on an earlier attempt to interfere with the privileges of that college. After issuing a stern warning to the Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor, Pepper then withdrew his Dragoons towards Abingdon, taking his prisoners with him. This prompt action deprived the Oxford Jacobites of their leaders, but it only momentarily damped their enthusiasm, and arrangements were made to raise a regiment for the Jacobite service from among the undergraduates. On the night of 27 October James was actually proclaimed at Oxford, but on the next day the Government secured the city with Handasyde's regiment of foot.[1]

In London the arrests continued during the latter part of September and throughout October. Lords Scarsdale and Duplin were sent to the Tower, and the names of several others who fell under suspicion have also come down to us. A Mr. Crawley, son of Sir Ambrose Crawley, and prominent in the iron trade, was arrested, but was released a few days later. Francis Francia, a Jew, was actually put on his trial, but acquitted.[2] One Ozinda, who kept a chocolate-house near St. James's Palace, was committed to Newgate, as were an undertaker called King, and Joseph Scriven, a militia sergeant. That the fears of the Government were by no means groundless is proved by the fact that on 12 October twelve chests of arms, each of which contained equipment for fifty men, were discovered at the " King's Arms " in Holborn. No risks were run by the authorities, and among those arrested was a Jacobite journalist called George Dormer who " imposed upon the well-meaning people in the country by his scandalous and false accounts of affairs." [3] Even Divine Providence seemed to the Whigs to be aiding them, for we learn that while three young men, who had just served their apprenticeship, were treating their masters at the " Fountain " in Aldersgate Street, one of them began to attack the Government, using bitter impre-

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. x, pp. 416 *et seq.* [2] *State Trials*, vol. xv, pp. 897–994.
[3] *The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. x, pp. 416 *et seq.*

cations in his discourses, when " on a sudden some phlegm or choler rising in his throat he dropped down dead from the table. A remarkable judgment of Heaven on such as repine at the happiness they enjoy." [1]

It was at this time, namely, on 28 September, that William Shippen, who was to lead the Jacobites in the House of Commons for nearly thirty years, made a brief appearance on the scene. Shippen, now member for Newton in Lancashire, had sat for Saltash in the previous Parliament, and was the brother-in-law of John Anstis, one of the M.P.s against whom the Government was proceeding. Shippen never lost hope of restoring James by Parliamentary means, and he refused to be a party to conspiracy on this, as on any other, occasion. Not unnaturally, his attitude was misunderstood by some of his political friends, and a rumour was circulated to the effect that he had betrayed them. To disprove this Shippen went to the Royal Exchange between two and three in the afternoon, and put the following notice on one of the pillars :

> Whereas there has been a report industriously spread that Mr. Shippen has given information at the Secretary's office against several persons said to be concerned in a plot, and an intended invasion from abroad ; I do hereby declare that the said report is utterly false, scandalous, and malicious, and an impudent lie and forgery.
>
> WILLIAM SHIPPEN.
>
> 28 *September*, 1715.

On 20 October there took place at the Old Bailey, before the Lord Chief Justice, the trial of Sergeant Joseph Sullivan, *alias* Silver, Felix Hara, and Robert Whitby, all of Colonel Paul's company of the Guards, on a charge of high treason. The evidence against the defendants was that they encouraged men to enlist for the service of James in this company, and that Colonel Paul was fully cognizant of what was taking place. Witnesses also stated that Sullivan was active in securing recruits to go to France, where he assured

[1] *The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. x, pp. 416 *et seq.*

them that an army was being prepared to invade England under the command of the Duke of Ormonde. The case against the prisoners seems to have been pretty clear. Their counsel objected to one of the Crown witnesses on the ground that he was so drunk on the material occasion that he had to be carried home, having lost the half-crown which Sullivan was alleged to have given him for entering James's service, and to another as a common whore, who lived in a garret, and lay on a wisp of straw, but it was all to no purpose. The three men were convicted, and duly executed on 28 October, Sullivan's head then being fixed on Temple Bar.

Such, in outline, was the progress of events in those parts of England with which we are concerned. It now remains to examine in such time as is at our disposal the attitude of James and his immediate advisers. That the statements put about by the Western Jacobites to the effect that their rising was to be the real one, while those of Mar and Forster were subsidiary, were true is proved by the decisions reached by James and Bolingbroke on 14 October,[1] of course in ignorance of Wyndham's arrest three weeks before. It was then decided to send Courtney and Campion to the West of England to announce the intention of James to land near Plymouth. Ormonde was to set out immediately after these two emissaries, and it was hoped that by the time he arrived Maclean would have put Plymouth into Wyndham's hands. James was to sail four days after Ormonde, and when he was gone Bolingbroke was himself to cross into England. Every effort was to be made to bring the clergy over to the Jacobite side, and Sacheverell was to join James in the West, unless it was considered that he could be more useful in London.

Four days later, that is to say on 18 October, Bolingbroke reported from Paris to James at Commercy that Campion had left for Cornwall by way of Cherbourg, and Courtney for Devonshire by that of Le Havre. Ormonde was expected

[1] *H.M.C. Stuart Papers*, vol. i, pp. 532–3.

to leave on the following Monday.[1] On the 21st Bolingbroke wrote that "Scarsdale, Vyvyan, and Coulston and many others are taken up. The storm grumbles in the West, but is not yet begun, and Hanover takes what measures he can to prevent it." Bolingbroke added that Campion and Courtney had embarked, and that he hoped Ormonde would sail on Wednesday.[2] In his reply James showed some impatience at Ormonde's delay, and announced his intention of taking up his own residence near the coast.[3] The weather now began to play its usual part in frustrating Jacobite hopes, for by the 24th Campion and Courtney had not yet been able to put to sea, and consequently Ormonde was still in Paris. Moreover, it was only now that news of what had happened in England at the beginning of the month was reaching Bolingbroke. The latter's concern at the turn events were taking is evident from what he wrote to James:

> I am not very well edified by the last advices of the 4th and 6th from England; and one particular, I confess, quite distracts my thoughts. The story is told several ways, and many groundless circumstances are, I believe, added; but, in general, I doubt it is true that Sir William Wyndham has surrendered himself, and has been set at liberty, some affirm on bail, others on his parole. I know the virtue of the man so well, that I have not the least distrust of him; but I confess to you, Sir, my apprehension is, that, after his escape, he tried the West, and found them not disposed to rise; in which case he had perhaps nothing left to do, but by his father-in-law's credit to save himself as well as he could. He and Lansdowne are the only two men I know, and I think I know them all, capable to take the lead in those counties; so that I am much perplexed what fruit we may reap from Campion's and Courtney's journey, and even from the Duke of Ormonde's expedition.[4]

This was neither the worst nor the final blow to the Jacobite hopes, for the first news that greeted Ormonde

[1] *H.M.C. Stuart Papers*, vol. i, pp. 434–5.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 440. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 444.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 445 *et seq.*; also Mahon, Lord, *History of England*, vol. i, Appendix, p. xxxiv.

when he reached the coast [1] was that Maclean had betrayed the whole plot to the British Government, and consequently that there was now no possibility of obtaining possession of Plymouth. In spite of this discouragement Ormonde sailed to the coast of Cornwall, but on being informed that there was no chance of a rising, returned to Brittany.[2] At this juncture James himself arrived at St. Malo, where he soon became dubious of the political capacity of Ormonde and his associates, for he wrote to Bolingbroke:

> The Duke of Ormonde had a crowd of people with him who were inconvenient in all respects; they were continually whispering notions and jealousies into his ears, and he, I fear, trusted them too much, everybody knew everything and would play the minister.[3]

It was now decided to abandon the idea of a landing in the West of England, and James determined rather to join those who were in arms on his behalf in Lancashire and in Scotland.

The evidence leaves little doubt but that the responsibility for failure must be laid at the door of the Duke of Ormonde. The preparations in the West were far more complete than in the North and in Scotland, and were a model of organization compared with what was done in anticipation of the Forty-Five. Ormonde's precipitate flight disorganized everything; left to themselves without instructions the other leaders hesitated, and the Government struck before they were ready. It is true that Bolingbroke declared that the Duke "did more than his part," [4] but it is difficult to agree with him, unless one rates that part very low. Berwick, on the other hand, was under no illusions that Ormonde ruined the Jacobite cause, and he censures him for not going to the West where he had already the nucleus of an army.[5]

[1] *H.M.C. Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. 452.
[2] Bolingbroke, Viscount, *A Letter to Sir William Wyndham.*
[3] *H.M.C. Stuart Papers*, vol. i, pp. 463–4.
[4] *A Letter to Sir William Wyndham.*
[5] *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, vol. ii, pp. 257 *et seq.*

There are two other reflections which are suggested by these Jacobite activities in the summer and autumn of 1715. One is that within thirty years of Monmouth's rebellion the very counties that fought against James II were apparently ready to take up arms on behalf of his son, which would seem to afford justification to those who are sceptical of the horror aroused by Kirke and Jeffreys. The other is that Jacobitism still drew its recruits from all classes. This, however, is not the time to pursue any inquiries along these lines, and it must be enough that our information from the South and West is added proof that in its conception the Fifteen was a far more serious affair, if less spectacular, than the Forty-Five.

THE INQUISITIONAL ARCHIVES AS A SOURCE OF ENGLISH HISTORY

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The popular (and perhaps not only the popular) impression of the Spanish Inquisition is that it was an organisation of blood and fire, concerned with the enforcement of Catholic uniformity at whatever cost. Of course, it maintained a "tribunal," before which heretics and unbelievers were haled in order to be condemned to the stake. The outcome of the trial was however a foregone conclusion in every case. Hence the Inquisitional muniments (if they existed) could be of value only as a record of (to use the current jargon) sadism or obscurantism on the one side, and of Protestant endurance on the other. Even scholars such as Lea tended to be affected by the popular tradition : and one may scan those five superb volumes on the Inquisition in Spain and her dependencies in vain for any indication that its archives are of value for the study of human history and ideas.

In connexion with my recent *History of the Marranos* [1] —a work which, owing to the accident of transatlantic publication, might have remained in manuscript for all the attention it has received in this country—I had occasion to go as thoroughly as time and finance permitted into the available records of the Holy Office, both manuscript and printed. Though I belong to the race against which its persecutions were most strenuously directed, I could not fail to be impressed deeply by the method, and indeed conscientiousness, of the Inquisitional procedure. The Holy

[1] Philadelphia, 1932.

Office seldom began to take action until it was reasonably sure of its facts. It administered torture (and what tribunal did not, in those days ?) less to obtain incriminating details than to secure a confession of what it already knew, and so clear the heretic's soul. Every stage in the procedure was carried through with due regard for form and precedent, and the most elaborate report was taken down. A special folder or register was devoted to each case. Some of the specimens surviving are of really considerable bulk, amounting in certain cases to upwards of a thousand folio pages. It goes without saying that the information assembled in such instances is of the most varied nature, going far beyond the record of persecution or of suffering which the popular mind envisages, and the scientific world has tacitly accepted.

It is desirable, before going further, to give a summary account of the material available. In speaking of the Inquisition, one thinks first of all of that of Spain—the most active, the most influential, and most notorious branch of all. Its records must once have been of vast extent. But, during the period of reaction which succeeded its fall, in the second quarter of the last century, they were the victims of popular resentment. In most cases they were dispersed : in some, destroyed outright. Isolated specimens of trials may be found in great libraries throughout the world—from the Bodleian at Oxford to the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, to which (I fancy) H. C. Lea's rich personal collection has passed. The only Spanish tribunal whose records are more or less intact is that of Toledo, now housed in the Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid. The catalogue of cases tried before this compiled by Vicente Vignau [1] and published thirty-two years ago occupies upwards of 600 large octavo pages.

Of the muniments of other tribunals assembled at Madrid, none approaches completeness. The collection

[1] *Catálogo de las causas contra la fe seguidas ante el Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Toledo* (Madrid, 1903).

removed from Simancas and catalogued recently by A. Paz y Mélia [1] is of a miscellaneous nature and need not detain us. The former Spanish possessions overseas are situated in much the same manner as those of the mother country, only a few specimens remaining where they might rationally be sought. Every now and again, however, there is some unexpected, and sometimes valuable, *trouvaille*, like that which forms the subject of G. R. G. Conway's recent study, *An Englishman and the Mexican Inquisition*, 1556–1560 (Mexico, 1927).

A great, yet incomplete, mass of original records of the Canariote Inquisition was purchased by the late Marquis of Bute some years ago. A partial calendar of these, dealing chiefly with Protestant and sorcery cases, was published by Dr. de Gray Birch in 1903.[2] Those on the Jews were calendared and published by Lucien Wolf for the Jewish Historical Society of England in 1926 [3]; while a detailed study of English traders and the Inquisition in the Canaries, by Leonora de Alberti and A. B. Wallis Chapman, is to be found in the *Transactions* of this Society for 1909, and was further developed in volume xxiii of the Third Camden Series. It may thus be said that the Canary Inquisition is the only tribunal dependent upon the *Suprema* at Madrid, the records of which (owing to their presence in this country) have been more or less thoroughly examined.

When we turn to Portugal, we are more fortunate. Owing to the more peaceful process of the abolition of the Inquisition there, its archives did not suffer appreciably in consequence of the revolution in its status. The records of the three local tribunals, now assembled in the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon, are therefore reasonably complete, comprising some 40,000 cases stretching from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century.

[1] *Catálogo abreviado de Papeles de Inquisición* (Madrid, 1914).

[2] *Catalogue of a Collection of original MSS. formerly belonging to the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands.* Two vols. (Edinburgh, 1903).

[3] *Jews in the Canary Islands* (London, 1926).

There is a primitive index to this collection: but, owing to the unfortunate fluidity of Portuguese surnames, it is arranged according to Christian names only and therefore is in many respects useless for purposes of research. There are persons who claim to have waded through the whole enormous mass: I beg leave to express polite incredulity.

In other countries of Europe, the Inquisition played a less important part, and its records are consequently of far smaller importance. Italy alone need perhaps be taken into consideration. Here, the records of the Spanish possessions of Sicily and Sardinia apparently shared the fate of those of Spain. It is said that in 1809 Napoleon took away with him from Rome to Paris over 400 tons weight of Inquisitional documents. After his downfall, they were restored: but the Papal authorities, it is reported (not altogether credibly), thought best to destroy them. They were accordingly cut up and sold as waste paper, realising even so upwards of 4,000 francs! Sixty-six volumes however, which escaped this fate, are now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin: an analysis of their contents having been published by Karl Benrath in *La Rivista Christiana* for 1879 and 1880. (Some were described also by Gardoz in the *Revue de l'instruction publique* for May, 1867.) Nevertheless, I venture to believe that very much must still remain in the Vatican.

Elsewhere in Italy, access to the Inquisitional records, where they remain *in situ*, is still in many cases difficult: one of the reasons given being reluctance to embarrass the descendants of those whose names figure in them.[1] However, a portion of the Florentine documents have found their way to Brussels, and were described by Biagi in the *Rivista delle bibliotheche e degli archivi* for 1908 and by Battistini in *Bilychnis* for 1929. So far as I am aware, the only important Italian archive which is both accessible

[1] This was actually the reply received to an inquiry in connexion with the records of the Holy Office in Reggio. The case in which I was interested was of the close of the sixteenth century!

and more or less intact is, appropriately enough, that of Venice, the city of Fra Paolo Sarpi. Here, in the State Archives in the Frari, there is a considerable collection of cases, extending from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, and provided with a satisfactory modern *Index Nominum*. These records are not, however, anything like as voluminous or as detailed as those of the tribunals of the Peninsula, and will be drawn upon below for one or two illustrations only.

My object in this paper is not to give a conspectus of the material bearing upon English history which the Inquisitional Archives contain : for that would imply that I have sifted the whole, a task which would tax the average lifetime. I wish simply to give a few instances, based upon such material as I have myself come across casually. It will be sufficient, I trust, to prove my point—that the English student cannot afford to neglect the Inquisitional records, and that a systematic investigation of them in the light of English history would well repay the pains.

A great deal of light has been thrown in the last few years, mainly through the researches of the late Lucien Wolf, upon the Marrano, or crypto-Jewish, settlement in England under the Tudors.[1] In that period, this backwater of history was periodically ruffled by eddies from the mainstream. The reason is easy to understand. In 1580, Philip of Spain had successfully laid claim to the throne of Portugal. The operations of the Inquisition in that country were therefore intensified. But the Pretender to the Portuguese throne, Dom Antonio, Prior of Crato, was partly of " New Christian " blood, being born of an irregular union between a member of the old royal house and the beautiful Violante Gomez, daughter of a crypto-Jewish family. Down to his death in 1595 he remained the stormy petrel of contemporary politics, busily intriguing in every court of Europe, and regarding as justifiable almost any means

[1] In *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. xi (1928), and his posthumous *Essays in Jewish History* (London, 1934).

which might bring him nearer to his aim. Everywhere, both at home and abroad, the Marranos strove their utmost to assist him. So notorious were their sympathies, indeed, that Drake's forays were generally said to have been organised by them. The New Christian group in London was active on his side—above all Rodrigo Lopes, the Queen's physician (fated to a tragic end),[1] and his connexion by marriage, Dr. Henrique Nuñez, a busy intriguer and amateur politician of no ordinary ability.[2] He maintained some sort of information service in Spain and Portugal, receiving reports in cipher, and on one occasion getting up from table in order to bring Walsingham a piece of important information which he had just received. It was through him, indeed, that the English government first received news of the arrival of the Grand Armada at Lisbon.[3]

The first clues regarding the existence of this community, which played a part of real importance in Elizabethan politics, came from the records of the Lisbon Inquisition. In the spring of 1588, a certain Alexandre Simones appeared before the local tribunal of the Holy Office and asked for permission to make a statement on oath regarding certain Portuguese heretics whom he had encountered in foreign parts.[4] Foremost among these was Hector Nuñez; and the information assisted the Spanish government then, as it assists the historical inquirer of our own days, to get upon the track of the entire *cabale*. It may be assumed that a person so prominent and so dangerous as Nuñez would not have been overlooked. It is not only possible, but even probable, that he was tried by the Inquisition and condemned *in absentia*: it is almost certain that he is mentioned incidentally in more than one other con-

[1] One may cite, in addition to the usual authorities, Frank Marcham's privately-printed *Lopez the Jew, executed* 1594*: an opinion by Gabriel Harvey* (Harrow Weald, 1927).

[2] For an account of his activities, see Wolf in *Transactions of Jewish Historical Society of England*, xi, 8–55.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[4] Antonio Baião, *A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil* (Lisbon, 1921), p. 264.

temporary trial and denunciation. The same of course applies to his associate, Dr. Rodrigo Lopes. There is an extreme likelihood that one day, before long, there will be discovered in the Inquisitional records fresh documents bearing upon these two protagonists which will lay bare a new page of the history of the great struggle between England and Spain and throw a fresh light upon the court of Queen Elizabeth as seen through the eyes of her unfortunate physician.

The sort of information which one may expect is illustrated by a deposition [1] of a slightly later period which specifically concerns England. Here, the deponent, one Antonio d'Almada Mascarenhas, gives a whole series of vignettes of London life and scenes. In particular, he introduces us to a renegade priest named Dom Joseph Careiras (concerning whom some peculiarly scurrilous but highly amusing details are related). The latter apparently entered into some sort of relationship with the Lord Protector, and averred that " if Caramuel (Cromwell) should set eyes on him and would give him something, he would marry and remain in his Court : for in this life it was well to live and have health, that being the main thing." We hear a great deal in this deposition (as in several others of the period, particularly in one or two made in the Canary Islands [2]) about the life of the little group of London Marranos : how they continued to live as Christians and to hear Mass and the Holy Sacrifices at the houses of the Ambassadors of France and Spain, " and at a private house of a religious of St. Dominic named Dom Theodor "—an interesting sidelight. Notwithstanding all this, a synagogue had recently been set up and was regularly frequented. We are introduced to the principal members of the community, one by one—some of them commercial magnates whose business careers can be traced in detail in the English

[1] Register 36 of the Promoter of the Lisbon Inquisition, published by Pedro d'Azevedo in the *Boletim de segunda classe*, iv, 461–4.

[2] Wolf, *Jews in the Canary Islands*, pp. 198–213, etc.

records. The deponent requested that measures should be taken to prevent the immigration from Portugal of the children of one Manoel da Costa Brito (a familiar figure in the London community), who were to have left the country in the ship on which he had arrived, their only object being to revert to the religion of their ancestors. Of this, he was sure: for the

"wife of the said Manoel da Costa had informed him, in the course of conversation, that the God of Israel would bring her children to her, to give them to Judaism and the holy covenant: and she gave thanks to the God of Israel to find herself in a land of liberty, where she might invoke His holy name."

I do not know whether there are many earlier references to England as a home of religious freedom—not in theory, but in sober fact.

"With the last chest of crusados to Alderman Backwell's," wrote Samuel Pepys, on 16 June, 1662. "By the same token his lady, going to take coach, stood in the shop: and having a gilded glass-full of perfumed comfits given her by Don Duarte de Silon, the Portugall merchant that is come over with the Queen, I did offer at a taste, and so she poured some out into my hand, and though good yet pleased me the better coming from a pretty lady."

This Duarte de Silon (or rather Silva) must have been a fairly well-known figure in London at the period. Clarendon admired his ability: the Queen valued his probity: and the King was so irate at his refusal to make advances on the latter's dowry as to commit him on one occasion to the Tower. In Portuguese affairs, Don Duarte had played a more prominent part. He was one of the most opulent Lisbon merchants of his day, carrying out transactions on an enormous scale and providing ships, men and supplies at his own cost for the reconquest of Brazil. When in 1647 he had been arrested by the Inquisition, public credit was shaken, the exchange on Amsterdam slumping by 5 per cent. The record of his trial (an abstract is given by Baião

in his *Episodios Dramaticos da Inquisição Portuguesa*) is one of the most voluminous I have handled, containing upwards of 600 closely written folios.

In view of the position which the prisoner occupied in the business world (this, perhaps, was responsible in the first instance for his misfortunes), it is not remarkable that the customary inventory of his effects is of unusual length. The wealth of detail which it contains gives a great deal of information which it would be difficult to duplicate elsewhere. The catalogue of his credits is immensely valuable for the study of economic life and commercial organisation. It shows agencies at Antwerp, Rouen, Rome, Venice, London and Leghorn : dealings in textiles, grain, dried fish, tobacco, silk and sugar : transactions with Brazil to the west and with India to the east : importation of sugar from America, and its subsequent despatch to Holland. It is, in fact, a cross-section of the commercial life and enterprises of one of the great merchant-princes of his age, given in minute detail. It is interesting to note that Duarte's correspondent in Rouen was that same Agostino Coronel Chacon who first suggested to General Monk the idea of a marriage alliance between Charles II and Catherine of Braganza. Da Silva was ultimately released, as has been seen : but he never forgot his experiences, and was one of those whose activities resulted in the suspension of the powers of the Portuguese Inquisition from 1674 to 1681.[1]

An unexpected *trouvaille* in the muniments of the Holy Office at Venice was a series of documents [2] throwing new light upon the early history of the Society of Friends. The record refers to the persons implicated as belonging to the sect of the *Tremolanti*—i.e. Quakers ! The information given is exiguous, consisting of slightly shadowy, or rather

[1] Cf. J. Lucio d'Azevedo, *Historia dos Christãos Novos Portugueses* (Lisbon, 1921), pp. 281–2. His trial is in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo at Lisbon, Inquisição de Lisbõa, processo 2122.

[2] R. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Santo Uffizio, busta 108. Another suggestive item in this collection is a denunciation of " Tommaso Cranmer," of Canterbury, for Lutheranism (*ibid.*, busta 10).

incredulous, depositions against two members of the new sect which had just begun to diversify the religious pattern of Europe—John Stubbs and Samuel Fisher, whose incredible adventures are known to us from another source. By one of the coincidences which dog the path of the historical inquirer, I was subsequently able to find a parallel account of the experiences in Venice of these two enthusiasts in an unpublished, but absorbingly interesting, manuscript in the Library of the Society of Friends.[1]

For family history, the value of the Inquisitional archives is outstanding. Genealogy played a large part in its inquiries. One of the most telling pieces of evidence which could be brought up against suspects was that they were descended of persons convicted of heresy or of "New Christian"—i.e. Jewish or Moorish—origin. This was traced back in many instances for half a dozen generations, so that a person who was only "one-sixteenth New Christian," or whose admixture of blood was so remote that it could only be indicated by the vague allegation that he "had part of the New Christian," was *ipso facto* suspect. (It is interesting, at the present moment, to see how conspicuously unoriginal certain modern innovations on the Continent of Europe actually are!) Moreover, during the trial, detailed inquiries were made concerning the prisoner's relatives and connexions, whose record might perhaps throw some light on the case and over whom proper surveillance ought assuredly to be maintained. On the other hand, it was to the Holy Office that proud *hidalgos*, who boasted like Sancho Panza that they had no alien blood in their veins, applied for certificates of *limpieza*, or purity of blood, which would permit them to take up certain offices. The records of something like 5,000 such inquiries, which go into the utmost possible detail, are available from the tribunal

[1] MSS. of the Society of Friends, portfolio 17. The total number of the cases in the records of the Venetian Inquisition ostensibly concerned with England is about ten, extending from 1577 to 1713, with three more relative to Scotland.

of Toledo alone : others, magnificently illuminated in some cases, are in the possession of private families all over the Peninsula.

The importance of either category of document for the study of family history is obvious. Every family with Spanish blood in its veins must descend either from one which boasted (and probably obtained formal certification) of its purity, or else from one which, lacking this inestimable benefit, fell under the suspicions of the Holy Office. The late H. C. E. Childers, the late Duchess of Norfolk, the Earl of Verulam, the Marquess of Crewe, Viscount Galway, the Dukes of Richmond, St. Albans and Northumberland, are all descended in the female line from families persecuted by the Inquisition, and could doubtless trace much about their ancestors by a conscientious inspection of its archives. How many English families are descended from some forebear who proved his *limpieza* before the Holy Tribunal one hesitates to say.

On literary history, too, the Inquisitional Archives may sometimes throw a considerable light : sometimes of the most unexpected nature. Some of the earliest Judæo-Spanish texts, for example, and of the oldest vernacular translations of the Jewish liturgy, have been recovered among the *pièces justificatives* of trials for heresy—documents which have a very considerable value for the study of Romance philology. A list of authors and men of science who came into conflict with the Holy Office at one time or the other of their careers would be imposing. I will cite only one instance, which has a considerable, though indirect bearing upon English literary history. One of the most important imaginative works of the sixteenth century was the famous *Celestina*, which according to many critics would have deserved the first place in Spanish literature had not Cervantes written his *Don Quixote*. This was translated into every language of western Europe, including English, and plainly exercised a considerable influence on Shakespeare. Its authorship was long disputed. A case before

the Toledo Inquisition [1] makes it plain, however, that it was actually written by Fernando de Rojas, a *converso*, married to the daughter of another *converso* who had been tried by the Inquisition in 1525. Molière's mother, too, was a member of the New Christian family of Lopes : while his translator, John Florio, was the son of a full-blooded Italian Jew. It becomes obvious that even in Elizabethan England the Hebraic influence was not exercised exclusively through the channel of the Holy Scriptures.

Another literary trifle brings us into direct contact with the English court. When Sir Henry Wotton was acting as Ambassador for James I at Venice it was his custom to send home, for the delectation of the royal pedant, any new books which might be calculated to interest him—such as the latest productions of Fra Paolo Sarpi, which were despatched in sheets as soon as they were printed. Wotton was familiar there with the famous, if not altogether reputable, Rabbi Leone da Modena, and on one occasion asked him for a treatise on Jewish ceremonies to send to the English court. The Ambassador fell into disfavour, it seems, before the work could be completed. Subsequently, it was published without the author's knowledge in Paris, from a copy which he had lent a visiting French scholar. Alarmed lest something should have been introduced into this which might embroil him with the authorities, Modena went voluntarily to the Holy Office, taking with him a complete transcript of his work as it had originally been written.[2] Thus it comes about that, in the muniments of the Venetian Inquisition,[3] there is preserved the author's manuscript of a work written expressly for James I of England, containing some interesting variants from the printed text !

The activities of the Inquisition were not, of course, confined to Europe : nor is the light which it throws on

[1] Published by M. Serrano y Sanz, *Noticias biográficas de Fernando de Rojas*, in Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, vi (1902), 245–99.

[2] See my article, " Léon de Modène, ses Riti Ebraici, et le Saint Office à Venise," in *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 1929, pp. 83–8.

[3] Santo Uffizio, busta 94.

British history. Throughout the sixteenth century and for a large part of the seventeenth, the greatest centre of European interest in India was the Portuguese settlement at Goa. Here, suspected New Christians from the mother-country had early found their way: and in 1561 an independent Inquisitional tribunal was set up. From that date to 1623, no less than 3,800 persons were tried before it—mainly Judaisers and native "St. Thomas" Christians. It continued its existence until 1774, when it was abolished in consequence of Pombal's reforms. It was reinstated in 1778, and finally disappeared in 1812.

Unfortunately, its records seem to have been dispersed —whether as a result of local indifference or of the reforming zeal of the white ants I have not been able to discover. Certain fragments have however survived the wreckage. I am not of course referring to Dellon's famous *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, which appeared in Paris in 1688, was translated into many foreign tongues, was reprinted time after time, and was one of the works which did most to undermine the prestige of the Holy Office: for, like most productions of the sort, it is not conspicuous either for its balance or for its accuracy. But, thanks to the amazingly elaborate Inquisitional organisation, copies of cases of more than local interest, or such as involved persons living elsewhere, were frequently circulated or sent to headquarters for the information of the authorities. Hence a few cases of Indian provenance may be traced in the archives of the Torre do Tombo.

Several of these have recently been investigated by Dr. Augusto da Silva Carvalho in his monograph on Garcia d'Orta, the famous physician and pharmacologist, who is said to be the most eminent Indian botanist, the earliest writer on tropical medicine, and the first European to diagnose cholera. Recent investigations have shown that, like so many of the greatest physicians of his day, he was of New Christian origin; and it was probably only his death which saved him from arrest and trial. His career is of a

little sentimental interest, incidentally, since it was upon the site of his house in Bombay that the Fort was subsequently erected. These excerpts throw much new light upon an unsuspected side of life, not in Goa alone, but in India as a whole, at this period; and their testimony should not be neglected by Indian historians. A systematic search would certainly reveal much more.[1] I have myself lighted casually upon a peculiarly interesting case,[2] embodying the proceedings against an unfortunate North African Jew who was arrested in India on suspicion of being a native of Portugal, and who was released after some years' incarceration. This is incidentally important (like the famous case of the *Wandering Jew of Illescas*, published from the original Inquisitional record by the late Father Fidel Fita [3]) for its glimpse of the Odyssey of a sixteenth-century merchant in search of fortune. The trial of another suspect from Goa, named Emanuele Fernandez, is included in the muniments of the Holy Office at Venice.[4]

In addition to these fragmentary judicial records, the correspondence and reports sent home by the Inquisitors of Goa are preserved almost *in toto* at Lisbon. A preliminary selection of these, extending between the years 1569 and 1630, is now in the course of publication under the erudite editorship of Antonio Baião, keeper of the Archives of the Torre do Tombo, on behalf of the Portuguese Academy of Sciences.[5] The work is proceeding with typical Lusitanian leisure and, as it would seem to us, illogicality. The second volume alone has as yet seen the light of day, leaving the

[1] I would instance, for example, Inquisição de Lisboa, processo 5341, where emigrants to India play an important part: or the confession of his experiences in Cochin and Hamburg by Bocarro Frances, the historian, published by Pedro d'Azevedo in *Archivo Historico Portugues*, viii, 197 *sqq.* Cf. also Baião, *A Inquisição*, pp. 105, 230, 237, etc.

[2] Inquisição de Lisbõa, processo 5393.

[3] "El judío errante de Illescas," in *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vi, 130 *sqq.*

[4] Santo Uffizio, busta 97. The offence alleged was *bestemie eretiche.*

[5] *A Inquisição de Goa: correspondencia dos inquisidores da India* (1569–1630) (Coimbra, 1930).

first (without which it is almost valueless) for some future occasion. Cryptic abbreviations on the individual fascicules seem to indicate that publication began in 1922: but it appeared only in 1930. The letters are however invaluable for the study of Indian conditions—not in Goa alone, but in almost all parts of the Mogul Empire, and beyond—in the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries; political affairs, religious beliefs, social life, European penetration, cultural activities, and so on.

A few passages deal with conditions farther afield—in China or in South-East Africa, in the colony of Angola, where the Inquisition sporadically made itself felt. Here, a word of warning is not perhaps out of place. The name Natal frequently figures in Inquisitional reports, and might be seized on with avidity by historians of the British Empire. But the reference, in every case that I have seen, is not to the South African region of that name, but to one of the provinces of the Portuguese colony of Brazil which had similarly been discovered on Christmas Day. And, since one digression excuses another, I should like to call attention at this point to another neglected source of sixteenth-century Indian history—the correspondence of Filippo Sassetti, one of the most charming letter-writers and most admirable stylists of his day, whose *Epistolario* [1] contains upwards of thirty letters written from Cochin and Goa between 1583 and 1588 to friends in Florence, providing a wealth of graphic detail on local conditions and affairs.

As with the East Indies, so with the West: for, though no Inquisition was actually set up on what was afterwards to be British soil, refugees from its activities frequently sought refuge there both before and after its conquest. Thus in 1702, when Joseph Nuñes Chaves was tried by the Lisbon Inquisition,[2] the fact was revealed that his brother

[1] The best edition is that of Ettore Marcucci (Florence, 1855): I have in the press some additional material from the unpublished originals in the British Museum.

[2] Inquisição de Lisbõa, processo 138.

Diogo, who had previously taken refuge in London, was now resident at Barbados. His father, similarly long resident in London, was burned at the auto-da-fè of 9 September, 1703.[1] Similarly, Daniel Lopes Laguna, one of the earliest known Jamaican *littérateurs*, spent some years in the dungeons of the Spanish Inquisition, where he first conceived the literary project [2] which was to make his name famous. Indeed, a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the British and Dutch possessions in the West Indies were fugitives from the Inquisition, to the activities of which the neighbouring territories owed an appreciable portion of their wealth.

It is not my intention to suggest that I have brought before you in these random instances anything extraordinarily startling. The reason is plain. Had I found anything of first importance, I would have hastened to publish it, and it would not have been reserved for use as a garnish to the *olla podrida* which I have been privileged to prepare on this occasion. At the same time, I should like it to be borne in mind that I have not searched the Inquisitional records for materials bearing on British events. If I had done so, I am certain that my haul would have been more spectacular by far. But I feel that the random instances which I have gathered in this paper are sufficient to demonstrate that a great deal of material for the study of the history of England and of the British Empire is to be found scattered about, sometimes in the most unlikely places, in the Inquisitional Archives, and that a systematic examination of them from this point of view would well repay the pains.

[1] Publications of American Jewish Historical Society, xxix. 12.

[2] *Espejo fiel de vidas, que contiene los psalmos de David en verso* . . . (London, 1720).

A study of the Inquisition at Tangiers during the English occupation may be found in *Boletim*, IX, pp. 522 *sqq*.

PIERRE D'AILLY AND THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE: A STUDY IN "OCKHAMITE" THEORY AND PRACTICE

By Agnes E. Roberts, M.A.

Read 13 *December*, 1934

The opening of the Council of Constance in November 1414 was an occasion full of promise and possibilities. The promise was more than dimmed, perhaps, by the attitude of John XXIII, who had taken three years to come to the point of summoning the council to which he had stood pledged at his election, but still it was an event at which all Christendom rejoiced.

The circumstances were extraordinary. For thirty years the church had been divided into two allegiances, and no positive evidence was forthcoming as to which was the true and which the spurious claimant to the papal throne. The Council of Pisa represented the triumph of the principle that a council could meet in spite of as well as at the bidding of the pope, while the election and almost general recognition first of Alexander V and then of John XXIII had apparently raised that principle from the realm of theory to that of constitutional fact. As Pierre d'Ailly stated at the Council of Constance, the legitimacy of John XXIII's position depended on the recognition of the fact that a council could make and unmake popes if necessary,[1] and the councils of Pisa and Constance could be regarded as logically one. Certainly their aims and the principles underlying their

[1] *See* d'Ailly's account of his dispute with John XXIII, and his justification of himself in Charlier de Gerson, *Opera omnia*, ed. Ellies-Dupin, Antwerp, 1706, vol. II, cols. 951–3.

policies were the same. To end the schism finally, to guard against its recurrence in the future, to define the constitution of the church, and to remedy the evils which were obvious *in capite et in membris*, as the phrase ran, these were the tasks before the members of the councils.

Such an undertaking was enough to appal the most confident, and many and various were the expedients that had been suggested to meet the evil case in which the church had found herself during the past century or so. First the "babylonish captivity," then the schism, and a constant undercurrent of vice and greed among the individual members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, from the highest almost to the lowest, coinciding with a period of self-assertion and expansion on the part of the state and its officials, eager to grasp at any privilege or property that could be appropriated by force of argument or force of arms, such a contingency was bound to lead to the production of new, and in some cases startling theories. If the debates between the head of the hierarchy and its members at Constance were going to resolve themselves into a combat, d'Ailly and his colleagues had a whole armoury of weapons from which to choose, many supplied by men who had been branded as heretics in their own day for the forging of them.

The work of extreme secularists like Marsiglio of Padua was of little use to the churchmen. The *Defensor pacis* had been produced with the idea of maiming and subordinating the church, not of reconstructing it. William of Ockham had more than Marsiglio to offer: in the best interests of the church as he conceived them it was the supreme conception of the papal monarchy that he hated and feared. That same exaltation of the papal power above all control and all authority was what the councils had to hate and fear a century later.

During the eventful years that followed 1378, appeals were made to various more or less exalted authorities, some being bandied about like shuttlecocks, serving first

one point of view and then the opposite. As for the doctrine of papal responsibility to the church and its representative, the general council, the conception of the ecclesiastical hierarchy as the ministers rather than the masters of the people whose spiritual directors they were—such ideas had been voiced by more than one theorist for more than one purpose ; but the influence of the work of Ockham in particular on the mind and writings of Pierre d'Ailly, one of the leading members of the council, is unmistakable.

From the beginning of his academic career, d'Ailly had been a student and an admirer of the works of Ockham, and apparently of the *Dialogus* in particular. At a comparatively early stage [1] he produced an *Abbreviatio dialogi Okam* [2] which, although it is little more than the chapter-headings of Ockham's work, with a number of comments interpolated by d'Ailly, testifies sufficiently to his interest and belief in the *Dialogus*. A free use of Ockham's forms of argument and definitions is obvious in d'Ailly's early works, noticeably in his *Quaestio in suis vesperiis*, where he appeals to Ockham to confute the theory of Armarchanus of dominion as dependent on grace,[3] and in one case at least, a whole section of the *Dialogus* finds its way almost verbatim into the *Abbreviatio*, whence it is transferred into one of his latest works, albeit without acknowledgment. Even a superficial comparison of the work d'Ailly produced before 1414 with the contents of the *Dialogus* must lead the reader to the conclusion that d'Ailly went to the Council of Constance an enthusiastic " Ockhamite," though he never adopted the most extreme views of his master.

D'Ailly was apparently ignorant of the first *tractatus* of the third part of the *Dialogus*.[4] As this particular section,

[1] M. Louis Salembier, in the *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation de Cambrai*, vol. LXIV, 1910, dates this tract between 1372 and 1395.

[2] In MS. only. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. latin, no. 14975, ff. 88–101.

[3] *Op. Gers.*, I, col. 650.

[4] On this point *see* Dr. A. G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, 1892, p. 231.

de potestate papae et cleri, concerns the very aspect of government that would interest d'Ailly most, he and his colleagues at the council had lost more than they knew, but he made the fullest use of what he himself had been able to study.

As one of the most important members of the council, d'Ailly was inevitably brought into close contact with its most urgent problems; his intellectual history being what it was, it was almost as inevitable that he should turn to Ockham for possible solutions. He was a practical-minded man, and he adapted his own theories to meet each situation as it arose. In many cases his adaptations take him nearer to Ockham's more daring conclusions than he had previously ventured. It was not until the end of the Council's life that it became obvious that conciliar government was not practicable in the face of contemporary conditions, and that the victory must ultimately lie with the papal monarchy.

D'Ailly's action with regard to the franchise in the Council offers a good example of his revision of his previous ideas to fit the circumstances. The question of voting in the Council was one of the first importance. There were two aspects of the problem to be considered; first, what should be the qualification, if any, for a voice in the affairs under discussion, and secondly, how should the votes be taken, i.e., should each individual, or should each section of the gathering, have one vote? It was in the interests of the pope that the franchise should be confined to the bishops, since many prelates present at the Council owed their positions to him and hoped for further promotion from him. It was also in his interests that the votes should be taken individually, since his partisans, the Italians, far outnumbered the other nations in the Council before the arrival of the Aragonese delegates in September, 1416.

The question of individual voting settled itself; first the German and then the English nation took to deliberating apart before offering their considered opinion in the Council and recording their vote as a whole. The question

of the franchise was more difficult, and it was in offering his solution that d'Ailly took a notable step nearer to Ockham's more "democratic" proposals.

In 1403, d'Ailly had quite clearly stated, in his tract *De materia concilii generalis*,[1] that decisions in a general council with regard to such important matters as the faith, and the position of the pope, should rest entirely with the bishops.

"It is to the bishops alone," he says, "and not to the princes or to any others, that the definitive authority of a council principally belongs. No others should take part in a council in any authoritative capacity. They may attend only as witnesses, and as the executors of the council."[2]

Further than this he would not go. Ockham, on the other hand, proposes the attendance, and apparently the voting, of laymen and even of women, though as is usual in the writings of d'Ailly's *venerabilis doctor*, there is no telling whether the author had his tongue in his cheek in making this startling suggestion.[3] The matters treated of in a general council concern all the faithful; all the faithful cannot attend, and they must therefore be represented as widely as possible—hence the inclusion of laymen. All persons or corporations having coercive authority, says Ockham, have not only the right but also the obligation to legislate for the good of their subjects in all matters concerning them; hence their obligation to defend the faith and to keep the peace generally, more than ever in abnormal conditions. Commenting on this passage in his *Abbreviatio*, d'Ailly had noted the proposals in it as being truly remarkable—*valde notabilia*[4]—but he had never adopted them.

[1] In MS. only. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. latin, no. 1571. A revised version of part III is printed in *Op. Gers.*, II, cols. 903–16, and elsewhere as *De emendatione ecclesiæ*, or *De reformatione ecclesiæ*.

[2] Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. latin, 1571, ff. 23–4.

[3] *Dialogus*, pt. I, lib. vi, ca. 85 *et seq.*

[4] Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. latin, 14579, f. 93*b*.

In his tract *De iure voti et definitionis quibus competat,*[1] which he presented to the Council, d'Ailly uses Ockham's implication that it is the fact of representing some community, lay or ecclesiastical, that confers the right to vote. In the first few lines he justifies his change of front by stating that he is discussing councils like the Council of Constance, met to discuss abnormal conditions like that of the schism. He quotes various historical precedents for the extension of the franchise beyond the episcopate. Originally, he says, only the bishops voted in councils, since they had administrative authority and were noted for their piety and wisdom. Later the abbots joined them, by right of their authority over their own communities. It is the titular bishops and abbots that d'Ailly would debar from undue influence in the council; it seems absurd to him that a titular bishop, having few or no suffragans, should carry as much authority in the council as the archbishop of Mainz, or other great prelates, to say nothing of the imperial princes and others, who represent large subject communities. Doctors of Theology and of Civil and Canon Law he admits to the franchise for a similar reason—they have a certain authority over those whom they teach. Finally, he says, it would be absurd to exclude from the voting those purely secular princes who were present. The questions under discussion touch them and their subjects very closely, and their help and advice, more than all, their protecting authority are necessary to the council. He apparently considers that the secular princes represent the community just as the prelates do, and that therefore their votes must be counted with the others. The whole validity of the council depends, in his view, on the authority of the community it represents—the universal church—and the votes should be allotted accordingly. Actual representative authority, not mere titular status, is to be the prime qualification; which is very much the implication

[1] Von der Hardt, *Rerum concilii oecumenici Constantiensis*, Francfort, 1696–1700, vol. II, cols. 224–7.

behind Ockham's definition of a general council as "a lawful meeting of sundry persons exercising the authority of and acting for the various parts of the whole community, in discussing matters touching the common good." [1]

The question of voting in the council having been decided unfavourably for John XXIII, and d'Ailly having got himself further into disfavour by suggesting that the good of the church demanded the abdication of all three papal claimants simultaneously,[2] the situation was rendered still more critical by the action of John XXIII himself. Alarmed by the temper of the council, and hopeless of getting his own way, he took advantage of a tournament held in the city on 20 March, 1415, to leave Constance in disguise, and make his way to Schaffhausen, hoping, perhaps, to end the council's activities, or at least to suspend them. Consternation was universal, and the council might have broken up, but for the action of Sigismund and of Jean Gerson, d'Ailly's pupil and friend who, in a sermon preached on 23 March, justified the continued existence of the council in the most uncompromising terms. He represented the church as being, under the leadership of Christ, not only independent of any pope, but also able to criticise the pope, if need be, through the means of its representative, the general council.[3]

At the third session, on 26 March, the first held since the flight of the pope, the tone was one of definite hostility between pope and council. D'Ailly presided at this particular session, but he was discreetly absent from the famous fourth and fifth sessions, when the most revolutionary decrees of the council were first promulgated and the superiority of general councils over the papacy was officially asserted.

[1] . . . congregatio esset concilium generale reputandum in qua diverse persone gerentes auctoritatem et vicem universarum partium totius sanitatis [*sic* in the edition of 1494, and in Goldast, *Monarchia*, II, 603; ? "societatis"] ad tractandum de communi bono rite conveniunt . . . *Dialogus*, pt. I, lib. vi, cap. 85.

[2] Von der Hardt, *Rer. Conc. oec. Const.*, II, 221–2.

[3] *Op. Gers.*, II, 201 *et seq.*

The council proceeded to even more extreme measures. An anonymous accusation against John XXIII had appeared,[1] accusing him of the most unnameable crimes, ranging from the fomenting of schism to all the sins of Sodom and Gomorrah. John had ultimately to stand his trial on a total of seventy-one charges against himself,[2] some so disgraceful that they were not read in public, for the sake of the prestige of the papacy. D'Ailly and others whom he asked to appear for him not only refused, but appeared as witnesses against him.[3]

Here was a situation which Ockham had often visualised and justified, though the like had never been known in his day. In the *Dialogus*, he is chiefly concerned with the case of a pope suspect of heresy, that being the charge he was always trying to substantiate against John XXII, but he also provides for the case of a pope having to stand his trial for scandalous behaviour.[4] On 29 May, John XXIII was declared to have caused scandal in the church notoriously, to have fomented schism and caused disruption, to be notoriously simoniac and a waster of the goods of the Roman and other churches, and to have sinned grievously both in his public and in his private capacity. On account of these crimes, and as being "unworthy, useless and culpable," he was deprived of all his administrative, spiritual and temporal powers. In a significant passage

"the said holy synod removes him, deprives him and deposes him, declaring each and all of the faithful of whatsoever estate, dignity or condition they may be, absolved from their fidelity to him and their oath." [5]

[1] Theodoricus de Niem, *Vita Johannis XXIII*, II, 3.

[2] Fincke, *Acta Concilii Constantiensis*, III, 156–209.

[3] Noël Valois, *La France et le grand schisme de l'Occident*, Paris, 1896, IV, 309.

[4] Tertius [casus in quo habet simpliciter aliquis potestatem in papa] est si papa in aliquo crimine fuerit deprehensus de quo scandalisatur ecclesia et ipse incorrigibilem se ostenditur. *Dialogus*, pt. I, lib. vi, cap. 65.

[5] Von der Hardt, *Rer. Conc. oec. Const.*, IV, 280–1.

He was committed to the custody of the Emperor Sigismund,

" patron [advocatus] of the universal church and most devoted defender thereof, in the name of the said holy general council, for as long as it shall seem good to the said holy general council for the good of the union of the church of God."

The council considered him worthy of even greater punishment, but reserved to itself the right to temper justice with mercy.

A better example of " Ockhamite " procedure, a fuller exposition of Ockham's views with regard to the powers of deposition wielded by a council over a pope it would be difficult to find. That d'Ailly must have approved of the action taken by the council is undeniable in view of his attitude towards the examination of the works of Wicliffe, for it was on the occasion of Wicliffe's condemnation that he defined his own opinion of the relative positions of pope and council. It was debated whether the form should be " Nos, [i.e. the pope] hoc sacro approbante concilio, damnamus, etc.," or " Sacrosanctum concilium damnat, etc." D'Ailly supported the second form, declaring that the council was superior to the pope, and could depose him if necessary,[1] and again that " definitive authority, most of all in matters of faith, belongs to the general council." He adds, " et idem dicunt aliqui, quando agitur de facto papae " ; Ockham may well have been one of the " aliqui " in d'Ailly's mind at the time.

The Council, having rid itself of one pope and received the resignation of another—Gregory XII had sent in his abdication by the hand of Charles Malatesta in July, 1415 [2] —had to discuss future plans, the question of reform being the most urgent. Some members, d'Ailly among them, urged that a new pope should be elected first, so that the unusual situation of a church without an earthly head should not be prolonged. Others pointed out that it might

[1] Von der Hardt, *Rer. Conc. oec. Const.*, IV, 136.
[2] Valois, *La France et le grand schisme de l'Occident*, IV, 313.

be wiser to proceed with the work of reform while there was no pope who might be interested to hinder it. The French, the Italians and the Spaniards were in favour of proceeding immediately to an election ; the Germans and the English, strongly supported by the Emperor Sigismund, urged the need for reform, at least of the papacy and the curia. Ultimately the election was given precedence, and took place in accordance with a new plan drawn up by d'Ailly.[1] In view of the unusual circumstances, he proposed the extension of the conclave to include representatives from all the ecclesiastical provinces in the council, these representatives not to exceed the cardinals in number. For the election to be valid, the elect would need to secure the votes of two-thirds of the cardinals and two-thirds of the deputies of the council. It was in accordance with this widening of the franchise that Martin V was elected in the November of 1417, nearly a year after d'Ailly had produced in the council a philosophical basis of his theory of papal elections which he owed almost entirely to Ockham.

Apart from his smaller tracts and speeches in connection with current events in the council, d'Ailly had produced two more detailed works, his *De reformatione ecclesiae*, in November, 1415, and his *De ecclesiae, concilii generalis, Romani pontificis et cardinalium autoritate* or *De ecclesiastica potestate*, which he read in one of the churches in Constance on 1 October, 1416.[2] The former includes a series of remarkably sane proposals for the better government and the reform of the church, with a short sermon on the duties of a secular prince to his subjects and to the church, which

[1] *De modo et forma eligendi papam.* Von der Hardt, *op. cit.*, IV, 1452 *et seq.* Also printed in d'Ailly's *Tractus et sermones*, Strasbourg, 1490.

[2] *Op. Gers.*, II, 925–60. It is interesting to find this work, together with a few polemical tracts of the time of Philippe le Bel, some tracts by Gerson, and some by Jacobus Almainus and Johannes Major, including Almainus' commentary on Ockham, used by Edmund Richer as part of his *Vindiciae doctrinae majorum scholae Parisiensis . . . contra defensores monarchiae universalis et absolutae Curiae Romanae.* An edition was printed by Egmond of Cologne in 1683.

d'Ailly included for the benefit of his secular hearers. It is really a revision, in some parts a précis, of the third part of the *De materia concilii generalis* he had produced a dozen years before. It is the *De ecclesiastica potestate*, however, that contains some of the most important points in d'Ailly's theory of the ecclesiastical polity, and also the most striking instances of his debt to Ockham. Its value lies in the fact that it correlates and co-ordinates statements made or suggested in his earlier work. It was the last elaborate piece of work he produced, and it is significant that just as he quoted Ockham in his first university studies at Paris, so the ring of Ockham's phrases, in some cases the very phrases themselves are to be found in the work that represents the sum of his experience. It contains three parts; I, *De primaeva origine ecclesiasticae potestatis*, II, *De iure ministrorum ecclesiae quod habent in ecclesiasticis bonis*, and III, *De papalis plenitudine potestatis*. In his introduction he states that he is trying to point out the middle way of truth and to disprove the more extreme views which he has heard expressed "not without some bitterness of heart." [1] The truth concerning the powers of the church, he says, lies between two errors; that of the Waldenses, who would deny all ecclesiastical persons any kind of temporal goods or authority, and that of those who, falling into the error of Herod, and supposing Christ to be an earthly king, attribute to the pope supreme power over temporalities and spiritualities alike.[2]

He compares the position of the Apostles and St. Peter with that of the cardinals and the lesser dignitaries of the church and the pope. As all spiritual powers, excepting the *potestas dispositionis ministrorum* which must be peculiar to the organiser, were common to all the Apostles equally, so they are common to the ministers of the church, who receive their powers from Christ, the true Head of the church. The pope may be said to be head of the church only so far as he is "the first amongst the ministers, from

[1] *Op. Gers.*, II, 925. [2] *Ibid.*, 926.

whom nevertheless . . . the whole ecclesiastical order of ministers in some sort depends." [1]

The primacy of the Roman Church is bound up with that of the pope. D'Ailly recounts how St. Peter is said to have chosen first Antioch and then Rome as his see; hence Antioch and Rome have in turn held the primary position among the churches in the church universal. In his *Quaestio in suis vesperiis*, years before, he had pointed out that should the pope choose another see, as he might well do, the Roman church would fall from her proud heritage; [2] Ockham, in the *Dialogus*, gives an exactly parallel description of the position of Rome among the churches.[3]

The cardinals occupy the same position in regard to the pope as the Apostles occupied in regard to St. Peter, before they were scattered throughout the earth. The bishops succeed to the episcopal status of the Apostles, and the *ministri secundi ordinis* to the status of the seventy who were sent out by Christ.

It is in discussing the election of the pope by the cardinals and its justification that d'Ailly turns most obviously to Ockham, and it is just this discussion of the papal elections that holds the germ of d'Ailly's theory of government. By natural and divine law, he says, it is in a sense the prerogative of the cardinals to elect the pope. He explains that he says "in a sense" because their monopoly of that election is not of natural or divine law, but of human custom only.[4] Some have said—and here the *aliqui* indubitably refers to Ockham—that the Romans have the right to elect the pope, by natural and divine law interpreted in its widest sense to include that which is reasonable and

[1] *Op. Gers.*, II, 928. . . . potuit dici caput ecclesiae, in quantum principalis est inter ministros, a quo tamen, tanquam a principali hierarcha et architecto, aliquomodo dependet totus ministrorum ecclesiasticus ordo.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 669.

[3] *Dialogus*, pt. I, lib. v, cap. 21.

[4] . . . ad sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales, de iure naturali et divino, aliquo modo pertinet Romani pontificis electio; et dixi aliquo modo . . . quia . . . quod ad eos totaliter pertineat, hoc est de iure positivo . . . *Op. Gers.*, II, 930.

which is in accordance with the Scriptures. Any community has the right to elect its lay or ecclesiastical rulers, unless that community or some competent authority acting for the community has ordained otherwise. No community should have its ruler imposed upon it against its will. Since the pope is the governor of the Romans in a special sense, as they have no other bishop, it follows that the Romans should elect him. The cardinals, as leaders of the Romans, participate in the right of election—so long as the Romans or their representatives do not ordain otherwise.[1] Up to this point, d'Ailly has been quoting Ockham practically verbatim. Either he must have had a copy of the *Dialogus*, or of his own *Abbreviatio dyalogi Okam* by his side as he wrote, or he must have known the relevant passages by heart. He makes one or two additions here, probably occasioned by his point of view as a cardinal.

He also adds that as the pope is also the governor of the universal church as well as bishop of Rome, that church or its representative should have some say in his appointment; and though public expediency may justify the election by the Romans as being the smaller and more convenient body, d'Ailly evidently considers the claim of the church as more important. If the Romans have the right of election it is *vice et nomine universalis ecclesiae*, or on the grounds of expediency alone.[2]

After this brief departure he returns to the text of his master. Again on the grounds of expediency the Romans may and ought to transfer their right to a few of their number, just as elections of bishops have fallen into the hands of the clerics,[3] though they belong of right to layman and ecclesiastic alike.[4] The Romans may even delegate their right to one man—to the pope himself, who may in his turn give it to some other person or corporation, not

[1] *Op. Gers.*, II, 931. *See* appendix of illustrative passages at the end of this paper.

[2] *Op. Gers.*, II, 936.

[3] *Ibid.*, 931. Cp. Ockham, *Dialogus*, pt. III, tr. 2, lib. iii, cap. 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, and Ockham, *ibid.*, cap. 8.

because it is his own inherent right, but because the Romans have authorised him to do so. Here d'Ailly gives a number of instances of kings and emperors who have exercised the privilege of electing the pope, in all cases with the consent of the Romans given or implied. These instances he copies from Ockham, word for word, and in the same order, adding only an account of the acquisition of the right of election by the college of cardinals.

The whole discussion of the rights of papal elections presents a startling example of d'Ailly's debt to Ockham. The argument had been noted at some length and largely in Ockham's own words, in d'Ailly's *Abbreviatio dyalogi Okam.*[1] Thence, apparently, he transferred it, practically untouched, to his tract *De potestate ecclesiastica*. He proceeds to do much the same thing with Ockham's account of the process in the event of any defection of the usual electors. The right reverts to the Romans again, unless the pope, having authority from the Romans to do so, ordains otherwise.[2] He points out that the community has delegated rather than alienated its rights, and so can resume them and transfer them elsewhere if it pleases.

Once elected—in the mediaeval, but not necessarily in the modern sense—d'Ailly's constitutional monarch of the church takes his place in the hierarchy with the cardinals as his main assistants, to provide an Aristotelian element of aristocracy. Obviously d'Ailly, as a member of the sacred college, was more interested in the status and function of the cardinals than Ockham was, and he discusses them in some detail. In cases of necessity, or in defect of the pope, the cardinals convoke the general council[3]—here he is obviously harking back to the precedent of the Council of Pisa. In normal circumstances pope and cardinals together are the chief representatives of the Roman church,

[1] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. latin, 14579, ff. 101–101*b*.

[2] *Op. Gers.*, II, 932 ; *Abbreviatio*, Bibl. Nat., MS. latin, 14579, f. 101*b* ; *Dialogus*, pt. III, tr. 2, lib. iii, ca. 11 *et seq.*

[3] *Op. Gers.*, II, 937.

which is itself the *pars principalis* of any general council [1] —it has even been questioned whether the council can lawfully arrive at any important conclusions without it.[2] In short, the Roman church is as it were the capital city of d'Ailly's ecclesiastical polity.

D'Ailly insists in his analysis of the government of the church that a mixed constitution, like that described by Aristotle, is the best.[3] He will have nothing to do with the idea of absolute monarchy, and though the pope enjoys full authority up to a point, the council has the power to intervene in any case of abuse of that authority.[4]

In the rest of the *De ecclesiae potestate*, d'Ailly discusses various aspects of the church's government, such as the question of ecclesiastical taxation, and the all-important question of exemptions, but his arguments have no bearing on the present study. He had enough practical precedent in 1416 for the Council's supremacy to make him independent of purely dialectical arguments.[5] It is the framework of his ecclesiastical constitution he has borrowed from Ockham ; and it is briefly as follows : All office comes from the community, which has the right to elect its rulers and to provide for future contingencies. Any official member of the hierarchy of the church is a delegate of the community, holding his office on trust, though his spiritual powers are from God. The pope himself, in spite of his great authority, is as it were the responsible minister of the church.[6] If he errs in faith, or in his conduct, he retains nothing but the

[1] *Op. Gers.*, II, 938. [2] *Ibid.*, 939. [3] *Ibid.*, 946.

[4] Concilium generale nihil habet iuris in dignitatem pontificam, quae iuris est divini, sed in abusum dignitatis pontificiae : et idcirco, status monarchicus ecclesiae, regimine aristocratico et democratico temperatur. *Op. Gers.*, II, 945.

[5] He says that the view that the pope is subject to the council is sufficiently proven " ex actis in hoc sacro concilio ", but the schoolman gains the upper hand, and he proceeds, " Nihilominus ad robur et confirmationem concilii probare intendo iure naturali, divino, et humano, quod papa subest in multis casibus iudicio concilii generalis : et haec declarabo ex his quae scripsi in tractatu quem dudum compilavi de concilio generale . . ." *Op. Gers.*, II, 956.

[6] *Op. Gers.*, II, 951.

right of an accused man to a fair trial. He, the fallible representative of the infallible church, is its servant, and can be dismissed by it for reasons of convenience, or of discipline, like any other servant. For practical purposes his judge is the general council, which also represents the community, but is more likely to be inspired and therefore infallible—though d'Ailly rather dubiously represents this infallibility as a pious hope, as well he might in the face of his own experience.[1] The only truly infallible body is the church universal itself, which cannot be gathered together, and so must rely on its representative council as a final authority for all practical purposes.

It has been said that almost anything can be found in Ockham's *Dialogus*—including the emancipation of woman ; and indeed, in the welter of argument and counter-argument, question and answer, proof and illustration, most views seem to find some expression somewhere. Nevertheless, for the careful student, such as d'Ailly undoubtedly was, well acquainted with the spirit and the letter of the *venerabilis doctor*, the *Dialogus* was a very mine of inspiration, the sum of the life-work of one who had spent his best years in attacking the proudest erection of the Middle Ages, the papal monarchy.

The attitude of the Council of Constance, and in particular the work of d'Ailly, shows how ready the leaders of the conciliar movement could be to avail themselves of the work of the most heterodox of their predecessors. The whirligig of time had indeed brought in its revenges in the day when the voice of a long dead heretic speaking through the mouth of a cardinal of irreproachable orthodoxy could be heard with approval in a church council of such importance.

D'Ailly's name was to be linked with Ockham's in the minds of later generations. References to his writings crop

[1] . . . licet hoc idem pie credatur de concilio generale, videlicet quando innititur divinae Scripturae vel autoritati quae a Sancto Spiritu inspirata : alias saepe errasse legitur. *Op. Gers.*, II, 958.

up in the commentaries on Ockham produced by Jacobus Almainus early in the sixteenth century, together with quotations from Gerson and from John of Paris. He was to be one of the reverend fathers to whom Richer and the Gallicans appealed in their struggle against the Jesuits and the papal curia in the seventeenth century. He has even been claimed as one of the prophets of the Reformation—a suggestion that would make him turn in his grave with horror, could he hear of it. The stern prosecutor of John Hus and Jerome of Prague, he was known to his admiring contemporaries as "the hammer of the heretics," but a detailed study of his works must reveal the arch-heretic of the fourteenth century as one of his chief sources of inspiration.

APPENDIX OF ILLUSTRATIVE PASSAGES

D'Ailly

De potestate ecclesiastica Charlier de Gerson, Opera ed. Ellis-Dupin, II, 930–2.

De hoc autem aliqui probabiliter dicunt, quod large sumendo Jus naturale et divinum, pro omni illo quod ex suppositione est naturali rationi consonum, et in divinis Scripturis explicite vel implicite comprehensum; sic Romani ex Jure naturali et divino hoc large sumpto, habent Jus eligendi Summum Pontificem. Ex hac namque suppositione, quod aliquibus sit aliquis Praelatus, vel Princeps, vel Rector praeficiendus, naturali ratione evidenter colligitur, quod (nisi per illum vel illos, cujus vel quorum interest, ordinetur contrarium) illi quibus est praeficiendus, habent Jus eligendi praeficiendum eis. Unde nullus debet eis dari, ipsis invitis, et haec multis rationibus et exemplis possunt probari, quas dimitto. Cum ergo Romanus Pontifex quodam modo specialiter praeferendus est Romanis, quia non habent alium Episcopum; sequitur quod ipsi Jure prae-

Ockham

Dialogus, part III, tr. ii, lib. 3 *c.* 6. *Goldast, Monarchia, II,* 934.

Ad hoc dicitur, quod Romani ex iure naturali tertio modo dicto [extendendo ius divinum ad omne ius naturale] habent ius eligendi summum pontificem, supposito enim, quod aliquibus sit aliquis praelatus vel princeps, vel rector praeficiendus euidenti ratione colligitur, quod si per illum vel per illos cuius vel quorum interest, non ordinetur, illi quibus est praeficiendus habent ius eligendi, et praeficiendi eis, vnde nullus dari debet ipsis inuitis, hoc multis exemplis et rationibus posset probari: sed adducam paucas . . . Sed summus pontifex est specialiter quodammodo praeficiendus Romanis: quia non habent episcopum alium. Igitur ipsi ex iure naturali tertio modo dicto, id est ex iure naturali ex suppositione, ex hoc scilicet supposito quod debent habere episcopum, habent ius eligendi ipsum, nisi per ipsos Romanos vel alium superiorem Romanis, qui habeat in huiusmodi potest-

dicto, ex suppositione facta, scilicet quod debent ipsum habere Episcopum, habent Jus eligendi ipsum ; in quo Jure participant Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinales, . . . et hoc verum est, nisi per ipsos Romanos, vel alium superiorem Romanis, qui habeat in hoc potestatem, contrarium ordinetur vel statuatur . . . Ex praedictis sequitur decima conclusio, quod Romani, ad evitandum confusionem multitudinis, rationabiliter potuerunt, et debuerunt transferre praedictum Jus suum eligendi Summum Pontificem, in aliquos paucos ex Romanis, vel in Clerum Romanum, aut aliquos ex ipsis. . . . Ex eadem radice sequitur undecima conclusio, quod Romani rationabiliter potuerunt et debuerunt transferre Jus et potestatem instituendi Electores Romani Pontificis in aliquos paucos, vel in unum solum, utpote in Pontificem Romanum ; sic enim Papa aliquando concessit quibusdam Regibus Jus eligendi Summum pontificem, vel aliquando aliis. Sed secundum opinionem praedictam, hoc non fecit quia ipse solus habuit potestatem huiusmodi Jus concedendi, sed quia Romani, vel in eum solum vel in eum et alios simul qui gesserunt vicem Romanorum, praedictum Jus transtulerunt. Sic Adrianus papa, ut habetur in Decreto, non solus, sed ipse atem, statuatur contrarium vel ordinetur. Ipsi enim Romani potuerunt eadem iuri suo, vel transferre ius eligendi summum pontificem in alium vel alios, poterant etiam transferre ius constituendi electores summi pontificem.

Part III, tr. ii, lib. 3, *cap.* 6, *p.* 936.

. . . quamuis ius eligendi Romanum episcopum habuerunt Romani ex iure naturali tertio modo dicto : istud tamen ius et potestatem instituendi electores poterant in alium vel in alios multipliciter transferre . . . Romani igitur potestatem instituendi electores poterant concedere summo pontifici . . . Concedendum est igitur, quod papa concessit aliquando quibusdam regibus ius eligendi summum pontificem, vel aliquando aliis : sed hoc non fecit quod ipse solus semper habuit potestatem huiusmodi ius concedendi : sed quia Romani, vel in eum solum, vel in eum et alios simul, qui gesserunt vicem Romanorum, et aliis transtulerunt illud ius eligendi. Unde etiam Adrianus papa . . . non solus, sed ipse et Synodus celebrata Romae, in qua plures fuere Romani, tradiderunt Carolo regi Francorum ius et potestatem eligendi summum pontificem, et ordinandi Apostolicam sedem. Leo etiam papa, vt

et Synodus celebrata Romae, in qua plures fuerunt Romani, tradiderunt Carolo Regi Francorum Jus et potestatem eligendi Summum Pontificem, et ordinandi Apostolicam Sedem. Sic etiam Leo Papa, ut in Decretis legitur, non solus, sed cum multo Clero et populo Romano, Jus concessit Ottoni Regi Theutonicorum Summae Sedis Apostolicae Pontificem ordinandi. Sic denique Nicolaus Papa, non sine consensu Romanorum, in quodam Romana Synodo centum et tredecim Episcoporum, hanc Electionis potestatem Cardinalibus contulit, quae potestas, pluribus Juribus, et consuetudine praescripta firmata est. . . . non solus sed cum toto clero et populo Romano concessit Ottoni primo regi Theutonicorum summae sedis Apostolicae pontificem ordinandi, et ita Romani tali concessione concesserunt, quod facere potuerunt, sicut dictum est prius.

THE UNREFORMED DIPLOMATIC SERVICE, 1812–60

(The Alexander Prize Essay)

By S. T. Bindoff, M.A., F.R.Hist.Soc.

Read 13 *June*, 1935

The older and more experienced among the witnesses before the Select Committee of 1861 on the Diplomatic Service were generally agreed that the previous half-century had seen that service assume more and more the character of a profession.[1] Among the reasons they advanced to explain this development were the growth of the service during that period [2]—between 1816 and 1860 the total of heads of missions rose from 20 to 37 and the paid staff more than doubled in number—the greater part which it had of late appeared to play in world affairs,[3] and its dissociation from the vicissitudes of domestic politics.[4] Nowhere, however, either in the Report or in the evidence of that Committee do we find a comprehensive account of the specific changes in the personnel or organisation of the service which marked this development. Edmund Hammond, the permanent undersecretary, for example, when asked by the chairman what changes had taken place in the service during his thirty years at the Foreign Office, knew of no other than that several missions had been established in South America, that there were more paid attachés and that their salaries were now charged on the general diplomatic fund,[5] nor did further questioning appreciably stimulate his memory.

[1] *Report [from the Select Committee on Diplomatic Service]*, 1861. Parliamentary Papers, H. of C., 1861, vi. (459). P. ix; q. 33, p. 24 (4) and q. 112, p. 32 (12) (Hammond); q. 688, p. 97 (77) (Wodehouse); q. 951, p. 121 (101) (Clarendon); q. 2184, p. 217 (197) (Seymour). For a general note on the sources of this essay, see below, pp. 171–2.

[2] *Ibid.* q. 690, p. 97 (77) (Wodehouse).

[3] *Ibid.* q. 951, p. 121 (101) (Clarendon).

[4] *Ibid.* q. 689, p. 97 (77) (Wodehouse). [5] *Ibid.* q. 10, p. 22 (2).

In the course of helping to compile *British Diplomatic Representatives, 1789–1852*, recently published in the Camden Series,[1] I became convinced that a great deal more was to be learnt about these and other changes in the diplomatic service during this period from the Foreign Office records and other relevant material than is contained in the Report of the Committee of 1861, and in this essay I propose to present some suggestions as to the lines along which such an inquiry might proceed. Restricted both in subject and sources to a single aspect—the personnel—of the service, this essay has for theme the emergence of order, rule and discipline, in a word, of " professionalisation" in the diplomatic service from 1812 to 1860, that is, from the re-establishment of that service towards the close of the Napoleonic War until the eve of the reforms initiated by the Committee of 1861 ; and for method, an analysis of the personnel of the service over that period under the three headings of recruitment, promotion, and the relation of the service to Parliament and politics.

I

Between 1812 and 1860 a total of 119 men represented Great Britain as heads of missions at foreign courts.[2] They fall roughly into four classes corresponding to the routes by which they entered the service. Sixty-two had entered at the bottom, another 26 at various higher levels by way of the Foreign Office, 12 had previously belonged to the consular service, and the remaining 19 had been appointed to missions without previous experience of diplomacy.

The first 62 were the true *diplomates de carrière*, products

[1] *British Diplomatic Representatives, 1789–1852*. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by S. T. Bindoff, M.A., E. F. Malcolm Smith, M.A, Ph.D., and C. K. Webster, Litt.D., F.B.A. Camden Third Series, Volume L. London . . . 1934.

[2] This and all following figures exclude the North African and Asiatic embassies and missions which, throughout the period in question, were on a different footing from the general diplomatic service and were specially staffed.

of that curious survival, the unpaid attachéship. An eighteenth-century diplomatist often found it convenient to take abroad with him a young son or nephew, or a friend's son, who thus got the opportunity of acquiring Continental "finish" under a paternal eye. These "attachés" [1] shared their patron's house and table, and in return assisted with the secretarial work of the mission. They took their duties light-heartedly, the more so as few of them intended to make a diplomatic career. So soon as they had gained whatever insight into public business their simple routine afforded, or had seen enough of the world, they returned home and diplomacy knew them no more.

This was the system, or rather lack of it, which obtained at the beginning of our period. Three points claim attention: first, the fact that attachés were selected, not by the Secretary of State, but by diplomatists themselves; second, the high proportion of attachés with no leaning towards a diplomatic career; and third, the early age at which most of them went abroad.

Such a system was incompatible with order and efficiency in the ranks of the attachés. The selection of attachés by diplomatists had, it is true, the not unimportant advantage of giving these a reasonable chance of getting youngsters with whom they could live harmoniously—especially important, as Stratford Canning pointed out, to those who had grown-up daughters [2]—but this was outweighed by the prime disadvantage that the Foreign Secretary, in whom centred all hope of reform down to 1861, could exercise a minimum of control over attachés whom he did not appoint or pay, could hardly dismiss, and most of whom he had probably never met. Canning described the attachés of his

[1] The first example of the use of the word "attaché" given in the *New English Dictionary* is dated 1835, but earlier examples can be found. See the extract from the circular despatch of 1 Jan. 1816, quoted below, p. 148 n. 1, and Clancarty to Castlereagh, Frankfort, 15 Sept. 1816: ". . . that young Seymour is to be sent out to me as an *attaché* upon my working staff . . ." *Castlereagh Correspondence*, iii. 297.

[2] *Report*, q. 1767, p. 187 (167).

day as " A couple of dozen of young men scattered over Europe ; owing no allegiance and taking diplomacy only as subsidiary to amusement," and added : " It is a bad system, but there is no getting rid of it in my time." [1] Obviously the first requisite of reform among the attachés was the transference of their recruitment to the Foreign Secretary.

Even before Canning passed his judgment, the Foreign Office had made a start in this direction by requiring all attachés to obtain a letter signed by the Foreign Secretary formally notifying their appointment, a rule later extended to cover transfers between missions. Without this letter no one was considered officially attached, nor could any claim to promotion be entertained.[2] The new rule kept the Foreign Secretary informed of the number and distribution of attachés " on the books " and so enabled him to control admissions.[3] More important, it was the thin end of the wedge to deprive diplomatists of their right of selection. The attaching of a young man was no longer simply a personal matter between friends. The Foreign Secretary's permission must be asked and the letter obtained, and from

[1] Quoted in Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning*, 265.

[2] I have not been able to discover exactly when this regulation was introduced. The bound series of " Appointments. Attachés " (F.O. 366/314 ff.), comprising these letters, begins only in 1836, but similar letters may be found scattered among the General Correspondence from 1815 onwards. Cowley's statement before the Committee of 1861 that Canning was the first Foreign Secretary to appoint all attachés himself may mean that Canning first made the issue of these letters obligatory in all cases. Cf. Lamb to Planta, Madrid, 27 June, 1825 : " Sir, I have to request that you will be so good as to send me a Letter of Attaché for Mr. Stanhope, who is attached to this Legation, but has neglected to bring one with him." F.O. 72/301.

[3] The following list shows the number of attachés officially appointed (excluding those attached to special missions) each year, from 1836, when the regular series of letters of attaché begins, until 1860 :

1836	3	1841	9	1846	8	1851	2	1856	5
1837	7	1842	6	1847	8	1852	21	1857	10
1838	9	1843	4	1848	3	1853	4	1858	11
1839	3	1844	7	1849	3	1854	9	1859	5
1840	6	1845	4	1850	4	1855	9	1860	4

this procedure it was but a short step for the Foreign Secretary to claim priority and eventually to assert an absolute power of selection. This process, speeded up by the increasing pressure of applications for attachéships, was complete before 1860.[1] Already by the 'forties a Foreign Secretary could regard his appointment of a diplomatist's son or protégé as an act of grace or as a reward of meritorious service,[2] while an ambassador who tried to force his hand was courting a rebuff.[3] Diplomatists might still receive young men in their houses and use them as private secretaries and assistants, but of these the Foreign Office took no cognizance.[4]

Other changes there were making for increased efficiency. The practice, intermittent throughout the earlier part of our period, of requiring would-be attachés to serve a few months' probation in the Foreign Office, was made compulsory in 1853 and became Article I of the Regulations for the Diplomatic Service. This rule not only enabled the new recruit to learn the elements of his job before going abroad; it gave the Foreign Secretary, through his permanent officials, a chance of observing him at work and, if necessary, of advising him to try another career.

Perhaps the most important development was the beginning made towards the payment of attachés. Foreshadowed

[1] Although as late as 1858 the rule might be evaded. Cf. Malmesbury to Cowley, 4 Sept. 1858: "There never was such a hash as between Bulwer and Stratford [de Redcliffe] about their palaces. Stratford has taken out *six gentlemen* as attachés, but not one do I know by name, and not one has had his appointment signed, so they will have no *status* at all!" Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister* (1884), ii. 134.

[2] Palmerston, in appointing Sir Edmund Lyons's son attaché in 1839, wrote: "I do so as a mark of approbation of the manner in which you have performed your public duties in trying and difficult circumstances." Quoted in G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, vii. 308 n. (*b*) from a source not mentioned.

[3] Cf. Stratford Canning's efforts to have Layard attached to him in the 'forties. Lane-Poole, *Life of Stratford Canning*, ii. 138. Westmorland's hesitation to ask for an attachéship for R. B. D. Morier may perhaps be connected with the same situation. Mrs. Rosslyn Wemyss, *Memoirs and Letters of Sir Robert Morier*, i. 132–4.

[4] Cf. Hammond's evidence in 1861. *Report*, q. 64, p. 28 (8).

in Castlereagh's circular of 1 January, 1816,[1] the first paid attachéships were established by Canning in 1823. By 1846 there were 24, with salaries ranging from £200 at Mexico to £400 at Paris and St. Petersburg,[2] and by 1860, out of a total of 78 attachéships, 34 were paid.[3] Down to 1832 paid attachéships ranked with chaplains and postage as extraordinary items of expenditure, but their transference that year to the general diplomatic fund proclaimed their normalcy.[4] They provided a much-needed intermediate step in promotion between the unpaid attachéship and the secretaryship, giving their holders both a material incentive to work and a new status in the service.[5]

In contrast with these reforms, the Foreign Office would at first sight appear to have made little progress in reducing the high proportion of attachés who, with no desire for a diplomatic career, resigned after a few years' service. Of 82 attachés appointed between 1812 and 1830, 37 never reached a secretaryship ; from 1831 to 1845 the corresponding figures are 42 out of 71, and from 1846 to 1860, 66 out of 110, representing a fairly constant " wastage " of roughly one-half over the whole period. As far as the earlier part of the period is concerned, this circumstance is, I think, to be explained largely by the persistence of the old tradition. Many of these dilettante diplomatists, the " mere

[1] Instructions for conduct of business. " . . . And in addition to this assistance, and in order to provide a suitable succession of diplomatick Servants, properly qualified to discharge the functions of Secretary of Embassy and Secretary of Legation, His Royal Highness intends to nominate from time to time to such of the Ambassadors or Envoys as the exigency of the Service may point out, one, or at most two ' Attachés,' to be domesticated in his Family, and in the receipt of a small allowance from the publick, not necessarily equal to their expences, but in compensation for their services . . ." F.O. 83/81.

[2] Return of Diplomatic Service, 7 Dec. 1846. F.O. 366/367 (p. 158).

[3] *Report*, App. IV, pp. 503–5 (483–5).

[4] Cf. the manuscript note by Lenox-Conyngham attached to the estimate for civil contingencies for 1832. F.O. 366/344.

[5] Even as late as 1861 unpaid attachés were scarcely reckoned as belonging to the service. Cf. Hammond : " A person has a right to consider himself as belonging to the diplomatic service from the day of his appointment as paid attaché . . ." *Report*, q. 656, p. 91 (71).

saunterers," as Bulwer called them,[1] were heirs apparent, whose work in life, management of the family estates or succession to the family seat in Parliament, was already determined. Others quitted the service on marriage, while for some the attachéship was a mere formality giving them the benefit of diplomatic status while otherwise engaged.[2] From the majority of them as little was to be expected as from their eighteenth-century predecessors. As one of them has put on record :

> " The British tax-payer could owe them no grudge ; they were unpaid. Society could expect nothing of them but amusement and a disposition to enjoy themselves ; and they had no responsibilities, unless it was that of not misleading the chief by a wrong deciphering or an incorrect translation." [3]

From the beginning of our period heads of missions appear to have drawn a practical distinction between these " dandies " and the more useful " careerists." We find Clancarty at Frankfort in 1814 using the phrase " my working staff " as distinct from the others, one of whom could not even write.[4] The Foreign Office appeared at one stage disposed to make this differentiation official by minuting " not to expect promotion " against certain appointments, but unless this rider was often only verbally added the fewness of these cases would suggest that the practice did not develop.[5]

[1] See his article, signed " P.L.," on " The Diplomatic Service " in the *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 1833, i. 418–29. I am indebted for this reference to Professor C. K. Webster.

[2] Cf., for example, Clarendon to Stratford de Redcliffe, 15 Sept. 1853, attaching Mr. W. K. Loftus at Constantinople in order to give him protection while engaged in antiquarian researches in Mesopotamia. F.O. 366/314.

[3] H. E. H. Jerningham, *Reminiscences of an Attaché*, 37.

[4] Clancarty to Castlereagh, Frankfort, 15 Sept. 1816. *Castlereagh Correspondence*, iii. 297.

[5] I have found no evidence to support Crampton's statement before the Committee of 1861 that *all* notifications of appointments to attachéships formerly bore this rider. *Report*, q. 1318, p. 151 (131). On the contrary, entries such as the following suggest that it was the exception and not the rule : Canning to Wynn, 17 June, 1823, notifying the appoint-

Of these temporary attachés we may say that nothing became them in diplomacy like the leaving of it. The more who left thus early, the brighter the prospect for those who remained, an arrangement unfortunately too convenient to last. The supply of " dandies " on which it depended appears to have steadily diminished as the period progressed, with the introduction of the entrance examination in 1856 dealing it a final blow.[1] Clarendon, with several years' experience in appointing attachés, told the Committee of 1861 that no one now went into the service save with the intention of making it his career, an opinion which was shared by other witnesses.[2] The question then arises : what caused at least half these entrants to change their minds and leave the service after a few years ?

I would suggest as possible answers, either disgust at the monotony of the work or despair at the slowness of promotion. We know that two of the ablest ambassadors of the century, Lord Lyons and Sir Robert Morier, thought of resigning early in their careers owing to their seemingly melancholy prospects of promotion.[3] How many budding Lyonses and Moriers did resign for this reason ? Unfortunately, there are no figures to enlighten us, but a consideration of the average times taken to achieve the first steps in promotion will perhaps illustrate the importance of this factor.

In the first place, the typical attaché of our period was no longer a boy but a young man in the early twenties with his formal education behind him. The average age of

ment of Mr. Grenville Pigott as attaché, bears a note : " It is understood that this Letter is not to be considered as giving Mr. Pigott a Claim, hereafter, to Promotion in the Diplomatic Line. See letter to Duke of Buckingham of June 14." F.O. 82/16. The letter to the Duke of Buckingham is bound up at the end of the same volume.

[1] Cf. Earle and Fane before the Committee of 1861. *Report,* qq. 2058–60, p. 208 (188) ; q. 3285, p. 309 (289).

[2] *Report,* q. 950, p. 121 (101) (Clarendon) ; qq. 729–31, pp. 101–2 (81–2) (Wodehouse) ; qq. 3283–4, p. 308 (288) (Fane).

[3] Newton, *Lord Lyons,* i. 2 ; Mrs. Rosslyn Wemyss, *Sir Robert Morier,* ii. 10–11, 130.

entry of all attachés from 1812 to 1860 was 21 years and 10 months, nor was there any marked change in this figure from beginning to end of that period. This higher age of entry may be explained partly by the Napoleonic War, which retarded the entry of many would-be diplomats, and partly by the disappearance during our period of the conception of an attachéship as the alternative to a university education. If we do still find youngsters of 17 and 18 entering the service straight from school, we find an increasing number who enter it from the Universities (themselves tending to raise their age of entry and of graduation), while not a few conform to a centuries-old tradition by following their graduation with a year or two at one of the Inns of Court.[1]

Throughout our period a secretaryship was the lowest diplomatic rank carrying with it a measure of political responsibility and social advantage—few secretaries failed to enjoy at least one spell as *chargé d'affaires*—together with a salary on which a young man, single and of inexpensive tastes, could hope to pay his way. A secretaryship was therefore the first objective of every ambitious young diplomat. How long, my lord, how long? must often have been the burden of his cry.

For attachés who entered between 1812 and 1830 the answer was: for a secretaryship of legation nine, for a secretaryship of embassy 13½ years. For those entering between 1831 and 1845 the figures had risen to 13 and 18½ years, and for those entering between 1846 and 1860 to 16 and 23 years. An attaché entering early in our period might thus expect to become a secretary of legation at 32 and a secretary of embassy at 36; by the middle of the period the prospect had receded to his 36th and 41st years, and at the end still further to his 39th and 46th

[1] The names of 24 men who afterwards entered the diplomatic service appear in the registers of Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn and the Middle Temple between 1812 and 1860. *Lincoln's Inn Admissions, 1800–1893*; *Gray's Inn Admissions, 1521–1889*; *Notable Middle Templars* (London, 1902).

years. These figures explain both the possibility of wholesale resignations by disillusioned attachés and the importance of the paid attachéship as an intermediate step in promotion to break the long years of waiting for a secretaryship. Even so, an attaché spending the low average figure of £300 a year would cost at least between £3,000 and £4,000 before he became self-supporting, while for the first dozen years he would be a "mere clerk"[1] engaged in a monotonous routine of copying and translating.

This situation was only rendered bearable by the distant vision of ambassadorial eminence and emoluments. Some of the factors which influenced the prospects of each aspirant to these delights we shall consider together later, but one of them, which affected all equally, was the competition of the three groups entering the service by other routes.

And first the group entering from the Foreign Office. The fact that the Committee of 1861 reported that, save for a rule more honoured in the breach than in the observance,[2] the Foreign Office and diplomatic service were then "entirely distinct" in personnel,[3] has obscured the extent to which interchange had taken place between them at an earlier period. We are concerned only with those "outward bound" from the Office, and the posts which particularly interest us are those of private secretary, précis writer and clerk, which we may group together, and that of undersecretary of state.

During the greater part of our period there were only one private secretary and one précis writer in the Office, both attached to the Foreign Secretary.[4] The private

[1] The phrase is Jacob Bosanquet's, referring to his son George while an unpaid attaché. Bosanquet to Castlereagh, 29 Sept. 1819. *Castlereagh Correspondence*, iv. 152.

[2] Namely, that two F.O. clerks should always be employed at missions abroad.

[3] *Report*, p. 14 (xiv).

[4] According to Hammond, Canning always had four or five private secretaries at work in the Office, one at least of whom was apparently officially recognised as "assistant private secretary." *Report*, q. 470,

secretary's principal task was to copy and preserve his chief's private letters, while the précis writer dealt similarly with official correspondence.[1] Both were posts for young men in the twenties (though here, as elsewhere, the age-level tended to rise during the period), and were rarely held for more than two years, and sometimes for only a few months. They carried the same salary—£300 a year—but while the précis writership appears to have been originally the superior post, the private secretaryship afterwards took the lead and before 1860 was showing the first signs of its brilliant future.[2] Both posts were in the personal patronage of the Foreign Secretary, who followed his own inclination as between giving them to clerks in the Office or to young men outside, though the précis writership, perhaps as the more " public " of the two, was in practice more often held by a clerk.

Between 1812 and 1860 four private secretaries and 11 précis writers secured diplomatic appointments on leaving those posts, another six in all entered the consular service, while two went on to be undersecretaries. An analysis of the diplomatic and consular posts received by this group of 19 (four had held the two appointments successively) is instructive. Of the six so appointed before 1830 the first five in order obtained secretaryships of legation, the last only a paid attachéship ; of the eight between 1831 and

p. 69 (49), and *Foreign Office List*, 1859, ii. 7–8, which also mentions several " assistant private secretaries " during the period 1841–59 and " assistant précis writers " in 1807, 1831 and 1842.

[1] For an indication of the functions of the précis writer at the beginning of our period, see Lane-Poole, *Stratford Canning*, i. 29–30. The précis writer later took the name and functions of assistant private secretary. *Report*, q. 1473, p. 162 (142), and Tilley and Gaselee, *The Foreign Office*, 207.

[2] Before 1812 promotion generally took place from the private secretaryship to the précis writership ; after 1812 it invariably went the other way. Strachey's remark before the Committee of 1861 that Ponsonby, the private secretary, assisted Clarendon in diplomatic promotions in the 'fifties is the first indication I have found of the private secretary's intervention in this sphere, which he afterwards made his own. *Report*, q. 2698, p. 257 (237) ; Tilley and Gaselee, *The Foreign Office*, 207–9.

1845 four received paid attachéships and three had to be content with consular appointments, while Palmerston's brother William Temple, who was already forty-two and a secretary of embassy when appointed précis writer, obtained the Naples legation; and of the five sent abroad between 1846 and 1860 only two went to paid attachéships and three to consulates. This decline in the "diplomatic exchange value" of these two posts is to be explained by the concurrent slowing down in promotion among attachés. Foreign Secretaries clearly found it increasingly difficult to push in their private secretaries and précis writers, on the strength of a year or two's comparatively well paid service, over the heads of attachés of perhaps ten years' standing, and compromised by substituting for the former secretaryship of legation either a paid attachéship or a consular appointment.

The case of the Foreign Office clerks was somewhat different, for theirs were permanent appointments which could be more reasonably equated with attachéships. Between 1812 and 1846 eight clerks transferred into the diplomatic service. Three with Office service of five years or less received paid attachéships, although J. R. Milbanke, with only $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, got a secretaryship of legation; three with from 8 to 12 years' service obtained secretaryships of legation, and William Turner, with 16 years, received a secretaryship of embassy.

This triple group is chiefly interesting as including a number of men who could hardly have entered diplomacy by any other route. The Foreign Office route had this advantage, that it was accompanied by a salary from the beginning. As we have already seen, the private secretary and précis writer each received £300 a year. During the greater part of our period a clerk started at £100, and by annual increments and various allowances and perquisites reached between £300 and £400 after six or seven years' service and after 12 years between £600 and £800. This, then, was a route by which a young man of moderate means

could enter the diplomatic service while avoiding the £3,000 or £4,000 of expense entailed by an attachéship. We do, indeed, find such men entering in this way: Charles Bankhead, the son of Castlereagh's doctor, William Turner, son of a friend of Canning's, and William Pitt Adams, whose father had been Pitt's private secretary. While all three had the connections indispensable to an official career, their humble birth and comparative lack of means would otherwise almost certainly have barred their entrance. All rose to be heads of important missions.

There remain the undersecretaries. The Foreign Office had inherited from the régime of the dual secretariat the conception of an undersecretaryship as a stepping-stone to diplomatic preferment,[1] and its restriction to the "governmental" undersecretary is one of the features of the gradual differentiation during our period between him and his "permanent" colleague.[2] Like the private secretary and the précis writer the governmental undersecretary was chosen by the Foreign Secretary from among his relations or friends, and he usually held office as long as his patron and chief or until signs of an approaching change of government made it advisable to hasten his translation into diplomacy. Canning's duel with Castlereagh and resignation in 1809 kept Charles Bagot, his undersecretary, waiting until 1815 for the mission which was his due, while Palmerston's appointment of Shee to Berlin in October 1834, although already announced to the Prussian government,[3] was cancelled a month later by the incoming Wellington, and when Palmerston returned the following April the best he could do for his friend was Stuttgart.

Our period witnessed a gradual change in the position of the governmental undersecretary in respect of diplomatic prospects. Whereas five of the nine to hold that office

[1] Thomson, *The Secretaries of State, 1681–1782*, 132.

[2] On the position of the undersecretaries of state in this period, see E. Jones-Parry, "Under-Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs; 1782–1855," in *English Historical Review*, xlix (1934), 308–20.

[3] Abercromby to Palmerston, Berlin, 22 Oct. 1834. F.O. 64/196.

between 1807 and 1834 exchanged it at the end of their term for a legation, of their 13 successors between 1834 and 1860 one alone did so.[1] The explanation is, I think, to be sought in the changed relation of the undersecretary towards Parliament. In the eighteenth century many of the undersecretaries in the Northern and Southern departments had been also members of Parliament,[2] and the same was true of their governmental successors in the Foreign Office down to about 1807.[3] In that year, however, by virtually requiring Charles Bagot not to retain his seat in Parliament while undersecretary,[4] Canning appears to have set a precedent which was generally followed for the next twenty-five years. Of the nine governmental undersecretaries between 1807 and 1834 one alone had a seat in the Commons—and that for only two months before resigning office—while two were peers. Of their 13 successors between 1834 and 1860, seven were also members of Parliament and four peers. At a time when a seat in the Commons was in practice becoming incompatible with regular diplomatic employment,[5] the growing frequency of the governmental undersecretary's membership meant that he was looking increasingly towards a political as against a diplomatic career. The transition was complete when, following the fall of Palmerston in 1851, the long succession of peers at the Foreign Office necessitated another government spokesman on foreign affairs in the Commons, and the "governmental" became in fact and name the "parliamentary" undersecretary. The office now became a regular stepping-stone to Cabinet rank, and the older practice was so far forgotten that when in 1869 Clarendon revived it by appoint-

[1] Namely, Lord Wodehouse. The case of A. H. Layard, who was undersecretary from Feb. to May, 1853, and again from 1861 to 1866, and who was given a diplomatic appointment in 1869, is mentioned below.

[2] Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, i. 49; Thomson, *Secretaries of State*, 133.

[3] Of the 10 governmental undersecretaries from 1796 (G. Canning) to 1807 (Viscount Fitzharris), 7 were also M.P.s.

[4] Jones-Parry, *loc. cit.*, 311.

[5] See below, pp. 167–8.

ing Austen Henry Layard to Madrid, great was the agitation in the service at this introduction of an "outsider." [1] Nothing, perhaps, better illustrates the distance which the service had travelled towards professionalisation than that a practice which had once regularly furnished it with heads of missions should now be declared inimical to its best interests.

Of the third and smallest group, comprising the 12 who entered the diplomatic from the consular service, I do not propose to say much. During our period two factors helped to give the hitherto spasmodic interchange between the two services a more regular character: first, the tendency of the consular service to become better organised and more efficient and to approximate more closely to the diplomatic service in the social status of its personnel; and second, the advent of a new type of mission, nominally diplomatic, but designed primarily for the protection and furtherance of British commercial interests. Such were the Central and South American missions established by Canning and Palmerston, the North African posts, and the Asiatic missions brought into being by the East India Company but later taken over by the Crown.

Canning professed himself opposed to giving diplomatic appointments to consuls,[2] but the evident advantage of having men with commercial experience and local knowledge at these posts led his successors, though neither of set rule nor invariably, to promote consuls of proved ability. In

[1] Letters to *The Times*, 1 Nov. 1869, p. 9, col. *b*, and 6 Nov. 1869, p. 10, col. *f*. Letters defending the appointment are in 2 Nov., p. 6, col. *a*, and 8 Nov., p. 10, col. *f*. The best criticism of Layard's appointment from the "professional" diplomatist's point of view is that by R. B. D. Morier printed in Mrs. Wemyss's *Sir Robert Morier*, ii. 142–8. According to Lord Napier, Wodehouse's appointment to St. Petersburg in 1856 also "excited some temporary discontent." *Report*, App. I, p. 414 (394).

[2] See his letter to the King, 9 Dec. 1825, on Stuart's recommendation of Chamberlain as envoy to Brazil. E. J. Stapleton, *ed. Some Official Correspondence of George Canning*, i. 341–5.

the Central and South American missions, which accounted for 10 of the 12 appointments, the consul was usually made into a diplomat by easy stages. First given the diplomatic label " and *chargé d'affaires* " as a suffix to his consular rank, he reached the second stage when the " *chargé d'affaires* " stood first in his title, to become finally, if he were fortunate, a full minister plenipotentiary. It was only later, however, that a consul like Sir William White could attain to the highest diplomatic honours.

Our last group consists of the 19 heads of missions appointed to those posts without previous experience of diplomacy. Speaking in the House of Lords in 1855, the Earl of Hardwicke said " that nothing had struck him more forcibly, in reference to the diplomatic service, than the circumstance that, though it was called a profession, yet it was not regarded as a profession," since the higher posts were so often given to men outside its ranks.[1] The Foreign Secretary has, indeed, always defended his right to do so, and the practice has certain advantages : it introduces fresh blood into a profession peculiarly liable to develop rigidity and " caste," besides enabling the government of the day to appoint one of its own number or a man in whom it feels great confidence and who may therefore be expected to carry special weight abroad. There is, on the other hand, a danger of its being turned to unworthy ends of patronage, while its too frequent use disaffects the professional diplomatists whose interests it threatens.

Three main considerations governed such appointments during our period. The tradition of a diplomatic post as a convenient exile or refuge for men who had to be got " out of the way " died hard. Ponsonby received marching orders for South America in 1826 because the King saw in him a rival for the favours of Lady Conyngham, the royal mistress, while the elder Bloomfield took a barony with him to Stockholm after incurring the same monarch's disfavour by

[1] *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd series, cxxxix. 670 (H. of L., 10 July, 1855).

getting muddled in his Privy Purse accounts. Then there were those, some 7 out of the 19, whom the government had to provide for, either in reward for past services, or as part of current political arrangements. When R. L. Sheil, the great Irish Parliamentarian, went to nurse his health in Italy in 1850, Palmerston gave him the Florence legation, which, however, he lived only four months to enjoy. Canning's peace with the Liverpool government in 1814 was sealed by his acceptance of the Lisbon embassy, while Normanby's appointment to Paris in 1846 was part of John Russell's general Cabinet arrangements on coming in. The Foreign Secretary's claim to a personal share in this branch of diplomatic patronage is the basis of a third group of five names. Three of these cases—those of Cathcart, Stewart and Clancarty—date from the years 1812–13, when Castlereagh took advantage of an almost clear field to provide for his relations and friends.[1] His successors exercised their patronage more on behalf of friends already in the service than to bring friends in from outside,[2] although Palmerston's appointments of Villiers to Madrid in 1833 and Malmesbury's of his brother E. A. J. Harris in 1852 are cases in point.

If we hold, with Hardwicke, that the appointment of "outsiders"—at least in such numbers and such grounds—was inconsistent with a "professional" conception of the diplomatic service, we shall trace further evidence to support our theme, both in the progressive diminution of such cases—of our 19, 11 occur between 1812 and 1830, five between 1831 and 1845, and three between 1846 and 1860—and in the greater defensibility of the later appointments—the Ponsonby case had no parallel after 1830, while neither governmental nor personal patronage was ever again

[1] At the same time Castlereagh also found secretaryships for John James and Edward Michael Ward, both previously in the army, who had married his two half-sisters.

[2] On the relation of governmental and personal patronage in this respect, see the interesting letter from Canning to Liverpool, 27 Oct. 1824, in Stapleton, *Correspondence of Canning*, i. 183 ff.

possible on the same scale after 1832. When in April 1853 Stanley, Malmesbury's undersecretary, replying to Ewart's annual question in the Commons on education for the diplomatic service expressed himself in favour of a system by which all diplomatic posts above the rank of secretary should normally be filled by men outside the profession, the Foreign Secretary himself thought it prudent to meet actual and potential protests from the service by explaining a few days later in the Lords that Stanley had only expressed a personal view, which was not that of the government ; [1] and the Foreign Office spokesmen before the Committee of 1861, some of whom clearly hankered after the older and more flexible arrangement, while all urged the necessity of leaving the Foreign Secretary an unfettered choice, were agreed that, if diplomacy were to be treated as a profession, then the appointment of " outsiders " must in practice be reduced to a minimum.[2]

II

There are three possible ways of regulating promotion in a service : by merit, by seniority, and by favour and influence. Promotion in the diplomatic service of our period was governed by a combination of the three, with the proportion of each varying considerably from beginning to end of the period as well as from top to bottom of the service. It will therefore simplify matters if we divide the service into a lower and upper half, and consider promotion up

[1] *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd series, cxxv. 879 ff. (H. of C., 8 April, 1853) and 899 (H. of L., 11 April, 1853).

[2] Cf., for example, Hammond : " Generally speaking, I think, if you make diplomacy a profession, it is rather hard to bring in strangers into the higher ranks. I am not sure that we have not gone too far in making it a profession, and that the old system of the ambassador, taken generally from political men, and carrying as attachés his friends with him, giving them no eventual claim upon the public, may not have been better for the public service than that which now exists . . ." *Report*, q. 282, p. 49 (29) ; also *ibid.*, q. 808, p. 109 (89) (Wodehouse) ; q. 973, p. 124 (104), and qq. 1026–7, pp. 129–30 (109–10) (Clarendon) ; qq. 3130–4, p. 296 (276) (Spring Rice) ; and App. I, p. 414 (394) (Napier).

to the secretaryship stage separately from promotion in the higher flights beyond it.

Promotion in the lower half, governed during the earlier part of the period almost exclusively by favour and patronage, was by the end firmly placed upon a seniority basis. Merit can have entered very little into the matter at any stage, for the reason that the Foreign Secretary, who was responsible for promotion, had no means of discovering where merit lay. In this respect the British service lagged behind, for instance, the French, where the "concours," an annual essay competition on subjects of international history and politics, was introduced in 1825.[1] Heads of missions made a practice of volunteering testimonials, but for the most part these were as worthless as the numerous letters addressed to the Foreign Office by fond or ambitious parents on their offsprings' behalf.[2] The regulation of 1823 calling for biennial returns of attachés' leaves of absence foreshadowed a new dispensation, but it was not until after 1860 that heads of missions were required to add to these returns annual reports on what their attachés did while at their posts.

We have already seen that the average rate of promotion in the lower grades became progressively slower throughout the period. To compare the fortunes of individuals we must go behind these averages to the figures from which they are constructed. During the earlier part of the period, and leaving out of account the rapid promotion of the years 1812–16, due to the exceptional opportunities which the service then afforded, we find sufficiently striking variations from the mean. Among attachés entering between 1812 and 1830, for whom the mean "expectation," as the actuaries would say, was 9 years for a secretaryship of legation and 13½ for a secretaryship of embassy, we find

[1] See the article by Ludovic de Contenson, "Lamartine Secrétaire de Légation" in *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, 39me année (1925), 231–62.

[2] Cf. Strachey's evidence before the Committee of 1861. *Report*, q. 2695, p. 256 (236).

at one extreme Lord Albert Conyngham—like his brother the undersecretary a pawn in the game between Canning and George IV—given a secretaryship of legation after only four years' service, while at the other Peter Campbell Scarlett waited 18½ and Loftus Otway 19½ years for the same rank. Secretaryships of embassy went to Lionel Hervey after less than six and to Frederick Cathcart after less than eight years' service, while Andrew Buchanan waited over 26 years for his embassy commission.

Variations of this magnitude, only to be explained by a large-scale use of patronage and favour, become less frequent between 1831 and 1845—although Robert Peel, the Prime Minister's son, received after two years the promotion which came to W. G. Lettsom only after 23—and virtually disappear after 1846. It was Clarendon who in 1853 first systematically applied the seniority principle to the promotion of attachés,[1] and by 1861, when it was approved by the Diplomatic Service Committee,[2] that principle was firmly established. The greatest difference between the times taken by the last 14 attachés of our period to become secretaries of legation was a little over four years, the shortest time being 18 years 9 months.

A few diplomats, having reached an agreeable and not too distant secretaryship, seemed content to stay there for the rest of their working lives—Peter Browne was secretary at Copenhagen for 28 and Waller at Brussels for 21 years [3]—but the majority must have regarded their secretaryship as but a stepping-stone to higher things. We have seen that only about one-half of the entrants into the service during our period reached a secretaryship, and the figures of promotion beyond that stage show that roughly the same

[1] *Report*, qq. 2698–9, pp. 256–7 (236–7).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9 (ix).

[3] The case of Charles Townshend Barnard, who was secretary of legation to Saxony for 54 years (1824–78), was exceptional, as for the last 37 years of this period Barnard resided at Coburg and Gotha as acting *chargé d'affaires* to Saxe-Coburg.

proportion of secretaries ultimately received a mission.[1] The average times which they took to do so did not vary greatly over the period—about 11½ years for a minor and about 14 years for a major mission—but the wide divergencies between the individual figures illustrate the uncertainty of the prospect before the aspiring secretary. Henry Stephen Fox, who attracted—though without, in my view, deserving it—the attention of Canning, served as secretary for only six years before obtaining a mission in South America, while Hamilton Hamilton, who also had to cross the South Atlantic for his first mission, did so only after 18½ years as secretary of legation and embassy. Whereas J. D. Bligh was made envoy extraordinary only six years after his first appointment as secretary, G. S. S. Jerningham, who had been with Bligh at The Hague, was only a month short of 21 years in securing the same promotion. These are, of course, extreme cases, which become fewer as the period progresses, but it is nevertheless true that down to 1860 promotion beyond the secretaryship stage offered only a hazardous and uncertain prospect.

In the course of a debate in the Commons in 1855 Mr. A. J. Otway roundly asserted that

"it was notorious to all the world that in the diplomatic profession a man was selected for one of two reasons, and one of two reasons only—namely, either because he was related to a cabinet Minister or to some Peer or gentleman of very high standing; or because he had some Parliamentary influence through which he managed to obtain his promotion . . ." [2]

Otway's view was doubtless coloured by the fact that his cousin Loftus Otway had waited nearly 20 years for a

[1] Of the 59 secretaries appointed between 1812 and 1830 34 or 58 per cent. later obtained missions and 6 embassies; of the 31 between 1831 and 1845 15 or 48 per cent. obtained missions and 7 embassies; and of the 46 between 1846 and 1860 33 or 72 per cent. obtained missions and 8 embassies. The higher proportion for the years 1846–60 reflects the improvement in the system of promotion resulting from the reforms of the 'sixties and 'seventies.

[2] *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd series, cxxxviii. 919 (22 May, 1855).

secretaryship, but a study of comparative rates of promotion bears out the view that, at least in the higher ranks, patronage and influence continued to play an important, if not decisive, part.

The first and most obvious source of such influence was the Crown. At a time when the ambassador or envoy was still regarded as in a very real sense the personal representative of his sovereign, it is not surprising that George IV, William IV and Victoria and Albert all had definite likes and dislikes among their diplomatic servants, and either favoured or opposed their advancement. More than one of Canning's appointments was conditioned by the state of his relations with George IV, who was moreover always liable to be "got at" by backstairs men like Sir Charles Stuart. Conservative William IV disliked being represented abroad by radicals—Erskine seems to have been his particular *bête noire*—and his ready acquiescence in Palmerston's promotion of William Temple was as much an earnest of his Tory predilections as it reflected his liking for the Foreign Secretary. William, too, had several old friends of his Clarence days whom he was anxious to provide for, apparently not always to Palmerston's satisfaction.[1] Victoria, early schooled by Melbourne,[2] maintained the traditional royal interest and influence,[3] while Prince Albert, taking a hint from old Stockmar, did at least one very good turn to British diplomacy when he set Robert Morier's feet on the ladder by getting him transferred to Berlin.[4]

Within the government itself we may distinguish two

[1] G. H. Seymour and T. W. Waller were two of William IV's protégés. See his letter (as Duke of Clarence) to Canning, 17 June, 1827, recommending Seymour for promotion, in Stapleton, *Correspondence of Canning*, ii. 323, and the story in Hertslet, *Recollections of the Old Foreign Office*, 219–20, of William Smith and the Lisbon consulate.

[2] See Melbourne's letters of 10 and 12 Sept. 1841, to the Queen in *Letters of Queen Victoria 1837–1861*, i. 407–9.

[3] Instances of the Queen's intervention in diplomatic appointments will be found in *Letters of Queen Victoria 1837–1861*, i. 414; ii. 341–3; and iii. 478 ff.; and in Spencer Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell*, ii. 47.

[4] Mrs. Wemyss, *Sir Robert Morier*, i. 162–3.

sorts of patronage, the political patronage of the government as a whole and the personal patronage of individual ministers. The disposal of the highest diplomatic appointments would, as we have seen, normally form the subject of negotiation on the formation, or on a reshuffling, of the government. Current vacancies, promotions and transfers were in the patronage of the Foreign Secretary, who would, if necessary, consult with the Prime Minister, the amount of such consultation depending on the relations between them. Castlereagh, Canning, Palmerston and Aberdeen all seem to have disposed of their appointments pretty much as they pleased. A young and inexperienced Foreign Secretary such as Malmesbury was in 1852, however, clearly had not the same standing, and Derby as Prime Minister then had more to say in the matter [1]; while with John Russell, an ex-Prime Minister, at the Foreign Office in the coalition of 1852, the Prime Minister hesitated even to ask for an attachéship.[2]

The friendship of the Foreign Secretary was thus perhaps the most important single asset for an ambitious diplomatist. Of the ten Foreign Secretaries who held office between 1812 and 1860 seven had brothers, or, in the case of Canning, a cousin, in the service, all but one of whom received embassies or missions at their hands.[5] It is noteworthy, too, that promotion among ex-private secretaries and -précis writers, all protégés of Foreign Secretaries, was considerably more rapid than the general average. On the other hand, the death or resignation of a Foreign Secretary might spell disaster to his friends' hopes of promotion, witness the sad story of Andrew Snape Douglas. On Canning's

[1] Derby even appointed his son Edward Stanley governmental undersecretary, although he was then abroad and did not arrive in England until nearly three months later. Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, i. 319, 334.

[2] Mrs. Wemyss, *Sir Robert Morier*, i. 124–5.

[3] Lord William Russell, brother of Lord John, received his mission from Palmerston, and his diplomatic career was ended before his brother went to the Foreign Office.

death in 1827 Douglas wrote to Howard de Walden, the undersecretary :

" I feel the loss most deeply !—and shall have reason to feel it for the remainder of my Life ! I was the first Protégé Mr. Canning ever had, having been patronized by him so long back as the Year 1805 when he was Treasurer of the Navy, and I was sent for by him to the Foreign Office *in 1807* when he was *first* appointed Secretary of S[tate] for Foreign Affairs—and from the Précis Room I was sent abroad. . . ." [1]

Canning had given Douglas first the secretaryship at Naples, and then in 1824, during his second term, the secretaryship of embassy at The Hague. After Canning's death, Douglas solicited Aberdeen for promotion, but received a discouraging reply,[2] and shortly afterwards resigned from the service. Palmerston's protégés might well have congratulated themselves on that magnificent constitution which spared them the danger of a similar calamity.

Of the many other factors governing promotion, space forbids more than a mention. Family influence was strong, and an analysis of the ramifications of diplomatists' " connections " would repay the labour involved. Wives, too, mattered a good deal. How much of their success did Granville and Hamilton Seymour owe to their charming ladies, and does the slowness of some promotions perhaps reflect shortcomings in this direction? Promotion, too, was often not merely a question of rank, but of location. Palmerston's quip that " no climate agrees with an English diplomatist excepting that of Paris, Florence, or Naples,"[3] is well known, although the inclusion of Florence is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that in thirty years the British legation in that city had seen the death of two ministers, two secretaries, a secretary's wife, and an attaché. It was evidently a case of " See Florence and die ! " At a time

[1] Douglas to Howard de Walden, private, Brussels, 17 Aug. 1827. F.O. 37/155.

[2] Aberdeen to Douglas, 25 Nov. 1828. F.O. 37/159.

[3] Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, i. 318.

when there was no obligation upon diplomatists to accept the first post offered them, competition for the Continental posts was such that those who were prepared to cross the North or South Atlantic usually, and other things being equal, got their promotion earlier than their more stay-at-home fellows.

III

So far we have attempted to trace a few of the tendencies towards the professionalisation of diplomacy within the service itself. In the matter of recruitment, we have seen that, while the attachéship was in process of being transformed from a social convenience into a real apprenticeship for the higher grades of the service, various circumstances were tending to restrict admissions into the service at higher levels and by different routes, whether from the Foreign Office or from political life; and that, in the matter of promotion, seniority and merit had already before 1860 begun to oust influence and patronage as the ruling principles. We come finally to consider the relation of that service to an external authority, namely, Parliament, and here our theme is the gradual severance of their former close ties and the consequent emancipation of the service from dependence upon the vicissitudes of party politics.

Diplomatic employment has never disqualified from a seat in the Commons,[1] and during the earlier part of our period *diplomates de carrière* could still be members, albeit usually absentee, of the Lower House. Thus G. H. Rose and William Hill, envoys respectively at Berlin and Turin, were by-elected to the Parliament of 1812–18, while G. C. Antrobus sat in all four Parliaments between 1820 and 1830 while secretary of legation successively at Washington, Turin and Naples.[2] This "pluralism" was, however, already on the decline from 1812.[3] Of the seven M.P.s

[1] Erskine May, *Parliamentary Practice* (13th edn., 1924), 43 and n. 1.

[2] *Official Returns*, ii. 263, 266, 293, 302, 317, 329.

[3] It appears that as early as 1813 a diplomatist *en disponibilité*, i.e., temporarily unemployed and in receipt of a government allowance, was not allowed to enter Parliament. Lane-Poole, *Stratford Canning*, i. 188–9.

elected in that year who got diplomatic posts in the big recruitment of 1813–14, four accepted the Chiltern Hundreds on or shortly after their appointment, while Castlereagh's brother Charles got a barony simultaneously with his promotion to Vienna. The Parliament of 1820–6 included four active diplomatists, that of 1826–30 two, while from 1830 onwards only two regular diplomatists ever sat in the House, namely, Henry Lytton Bulwer, a member from 1830 to 1837 while secretary at Brussels, and Stratford Canning, who held appointments in Greece and Turkey during his membership in 1828 and 1831–2. Bulwer disappears from the Returns in 1837 and Canning on his acceptance of the Constantinople embassy for the fourth time in 1841.[1]

In the case of peers the process was somewhat different. They could not be deprived of their seats in the Lords and therefore continued to be, at least nominally, members of the Legislature, while their right of voting by proxy enabled them to take a regular part in divisions, even when absent at their posts. Already in the 'twenties, however, the convention appears to have been current that they should not vote against the government which employed them,[2] but during the Reform debates of 1831–2 Palmerston did not hesitate to bring Granville, for instance, over from

[1] For the case of R. L. Sheil in 1852, see *Commons Journals*, cvi. 3, 12, 94; *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd series, cxiv. 134–6.

[2] Thus, for example, Erskine, a Whig, gave his proxy to the Tory government of 1828–30 while envoy at Munich (*Parl. Deb.*, N.S., xix. 237; xxi. 396, 696), but voted consistently for the government of Earl Grey. The Duke of Devonshire, when offered a special mission to Russia in 1826, stated that "his political principles and party attachments would be in no degree influenced by the acceptance of this employment," but nevertheless withdrew his proxy from being given against the government (Stapleton, *Correspondence of Canning*, ii. 22–3, 54; *Wellington Despatches*, 2nd series, ii. 297–300). Strangford, then ambassador to Russia, gave his proxy against the government on 11 May, 1826 (Stapleton, *op. cit.*, ii. 54) and Hertford did the same in June, 1827, while engaged on a Garter mission to Russia. Canning described the latter case as "without example," and adduced it as a reason for not acceding to the Duke of Clarence's recommendation of G. H. Seymour, who was related to Hertford, for diplomatic promotion (Stapleton, *op. cit.*, ii. 323–4).

Paris to speak and vote for the measure.[1] During the next thirty years peers in the diplomatic service were in practice, if not in theory, slowly "depoliticised" (proxies were abolished in 1868), although it is only during the present century that the process has been consummated by the rule that they may sit and listen, but not speak or vote.[2]

This practical exclusion of diplomatists from the Lower and "depoliticising" of those in the Upper House was a necessary preliminary to the abandonment of party allegiance as a qualification for high diplomatic office. In the course of the Commons debate on Londonderry's appointment to St. Petersburg in 1835 Mahon, the foreign undersecretary, declared that

"it had, indeed, been constantly urged during former Governments, that if an individual had knowledge and talents for the diplomatic service, his political opinions ought to be no bar to his employment and promotion. That maxim had, he knew, been often adopted in behalf of Whig diplomatists during former Tory Governments. . . ." [3]

Mahon's maxim was in practice still not completely established by 1860, but a gradual and persistent tendency towards it characterises our period.

Down to 1852 the two "key-points" of British diplomacy, the embassies at Paris and Vienna, changed occupants with every change of government,[4] while Berlin and St. Petersburg were somewhat less regular in this respect. It was, indeed, essential under the old system for the Foreign Secretary to have at these key-points men whom he knew intimately and could trust [5]—Castlereagh and Aberdeen

[1] *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd series, viii. 343.

[2] Tilley and Gaselee, *The Foreign Office*, 104–5.

[3] *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd series, xxvi. 949.

[4] Lamb did not resign the Vienna embassy during the short Tory administration of 1834–5, but was on leave of absence the whole time, while Bagot, a Tory, went to Vienna on a special mission April-May, 1835.

[5] Cf. Palmerston's remark on Grey's suggestion that Durham might go to Paris in 1834: "I protested against it, saying that Durham I knew to be my enemy, and was a man whom I could not trust, and that Paris is the pivot of my foreign policy, and that I must have there a friend and a man in whom I can place confidence . . ." Bulwer, *Palmerston*, ii. 195.

put their brothers there, and Palmerston a brother-in-law to be—and this of necessity involved changes *pari passu* with those at the Foreign Office. At Paris the series of changes was broken in 1852 when the second Cowley entered upon his fifteen-year tenure of the embassy, to be succeeded by Lyons, whose reign lasted until 1887. Cowley served at Paris under eight Foreign Secretaires and Lyons under nine. At Vienna the new order may perhaps be dated from Bloomfield's appointment in 1860. At the less important posts, where identity of outlook between the envoy and the Foreign Secretary was less vital, this principle of " continuity of tenure " had already come into force somewhat earlier. Palmerston's advice to his brother William in 1834 to " pursue your profession steadily and regularly, without reference to changes at home " [1] reflects the new order, and William Temple succeeded in retaining the Naples legation until his death in 1856. To the end of our period, however, political considerations retained a certain sway, and as late as the year 1859 John Russell's appointments could prompt Malmesbury to write that " the old favourites of fortune are sitting on the sunny side of the hedge." [2]

Not until the close connection between diplomatic appointments and party politics was broken, could Parliament as a whole begin to assert an effective control over the diplomatic service ; for so long as diplomatists remained party-politicians, closely connected with the government of the day, Parliamentary criticism of themselves, their salaries or their proceedings was almost tantamount to a vote of no confidence. As Hobhouse declared in a debate on diplomatic expenditure in June 1830 :

" As to this being a personal attack, such an idea was quite out of the question ; on the contrary, instead of persons of such connections holding these situations, he should be much better pleased if it were Tom, or Dick, or Harry, whom nobody knew,

[1] Palmerston to W. Temple, 25 Nov. 1834. *Ibid.*, ii. 214.
[2] Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, ii. 196.

because they might then be able to attack and expose such poor devils without being alarmed as to what friends it might summon to the field." [1]

The thirty years after 1832, which witnessed a steadily growing divergence between the social status and political mentality of the generality of the House of Commons and that of the members of the diplomatic service, also witnessed the Commons' first sustained and persistent efforts to reform that service in accordance with its own ideas. The "cancelling" by the Commons of Londonderry's appointment to St. Petersburg in 1835 [2] was both premature and exceptional, but from 1852, when Ewart first asked what was to become an annual question on the progress of the scheme for an entrance examination into the service,[3] no session passed without a crop of questions and motions on this and similar topics. It was in deference to this Parliamentary campaign that Clarendon introduced the first examination in 1856 [4]; but five years later the Commons would be content with nothing less than a committee of inquiry,[5] the well-known Committee of 1861 whose report and recommendations may fitly be said to have closed the era of the unreformed diplomatic service.

GENERAL NOTE ON SOURCES

This essay is largely based upon material collected in the course of the compilation of the section 1815–52 of *British Diplomatic Representatives, 1789–1852* (Camden Third Series, vol. L), to which reference should be made for all details of diplomatic personnel and missions here mentioned. The statistics quoted present the result of an analysis, complete as far as the available material would allow, of the entire personnel of the British diplomatic service from 1812 to 1860. This analysis is based partly on the material used in the volume referred to above, and partly upon

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[1] *Parl. Deb.*, N.S., xxv. 40 (H. of C., 7 June, 1830).
[2] *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd series, xxvi. 938 ff. (H. of C., 13 March, 1835).
[3] *Ibid.*, cxxiii. 245 (H. of C., 19 Nov. 1852).
[4] *Report*, q. 284, p. 49 (29).
[5] *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd series, clxi. 1647–55 (8 March, 1861).

further material in the Foreign Office records in the Public Record Office, among which the following may be mentioned : F.O. 366/314–316 (" Appointments. Attachés " 1836–1862) and 366/318 (" Appointments. Attachés, notification of." 1856–1860) ; F.O. 366/322 (" Appointments. Secretaries of Embassy, etc. [from Under-Secretary of State]." 1838–1858) ; F.O. 366/329–330 (" Appointments. Diplomatic. Duration of Service." 1791–1836 and " Appointments. Diplomatic. Register of." 1841–1876) ; F.O. 366/344–345 (" Civil Contingencies." 1815–1840 and 1823–1863) ; F.O. 366/366–367 (" Estimates. Foreign Office." 1821–1856) ; F.O. 366/505–507 (" Minutes. Diplomatic Appointments." 1831–1864); F.O. 366/559–560 (" Returns of Service." 1804–1835 and " Returns of Service. Correspondence." 1828) ; F.O. 96/17–26 (" Minutes, memoranda, etc." Lords Palmerston, Granville, Malmesbury, Clarendon and Russell. 1830–1861) ; F.O. 83/10 (" Papers relating to Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service expenses." 1784–1823) ; F.O. 83/81–86, 110, 126, 134, 138, 145, 148, 158, 185 and 199 (" Circulars to Ministers and Consuls abroad." 1812–1860). Personal details of personnel (i.e., age, education, connections, etc.) have been compiled from biographical dictionaries, university, college and school registers, genealogical works and obituary notices in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *The Times*.

So far as I am aware, no study of the British diplomatic service on the lines of this essay has previously been attempted. Mr. Robert T. Nightingale's article " The Personnel of the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service, 1851–1929 " in *The Realist*, ii. no. 3 (1929), afterwards reprinted as Fabian Tract no. 232, approaches the subject almost exclusively from the standpoint of the social and educational qualifications required of entrants into the service during that period. Professor C. K. Webster in his *Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1812–1815* (1931), pp. 44 ff., and *Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815–1822* (1925), pp. 38–42, and Professor H. W. V. Temperley in his *Foreign Policy of Canning, 1822–1827* (1925), pp. 258–94 *passim*, discuss the diplomatic machine during the periods with which they deal. The short " Note on the Diplomatic Service " which forms chapter xi of *The Foreign Office* by Sir John Tilley and (Sir) S. Gaselee (1933) is based almost entirely on the Report of the Committee of 1861, while the earlier part of the chapter by Algernon Cecil in the *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy* (iii. 539 ff.) adds little to our knowledge of the diplomatic service during that period. For a sidelight on the selection of diplomatic and consular personnel in the 'forties, see the writer's " Lord Palmerston and the universities " in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. xii, no. 34 (June 1934), 39–43.

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. SESSION 1933–1934.

The Council of the Royal Historical Society have the honour of presenting the Annual Report to the General Meeting of the Fellows as follows:—

At a Special Meeting of the Society held on May 10, 1934, there was established, upon the proposal of the Council, a new class of members to be called "Associates." These members are to be elected, in the first instance for a period of five years, by the Council upon the nomination of two Fellows who can testify with knowledge to the candidate's qualifications, unless the nomination is supported by an accredited historical scholar or by the Council of a local Historical or Record Society, when personal knowledge upon the part of the Fellows who make the nomination is not required. They are to pay an annual subscription of one guinea, and will receive the *Transactions* and have the right to attend Ordinary Meetings, to use the library, but not to borrow books, and to buy one copy of each of the Society's publications as issued at a reduction of 25 per cent. It is the hope of the Council that in this way it may prove possible to associate with the Society persons who, as investigators, administrators or teachers, are actively engaged in some form of historical work, and yet may not be fully qualified for election to the Fellowship.

By courtesy of the Surrey Archæological Society the President has been enabled to circulate with the report of that Society a letter to its members calling attention to the Associateship. The Council would welcome any opportunity to reach historical students, in other parts of the country, with whom they are not already in touch.

With a view to securing the more rapid despatch of the

business of the Society, the Council have taken steps to reduce the number of their nominations for vice-presidents and other members of Council to the minimum required by By-law XVI, and have replaced what was in effect a single standing committee, consisting of the majority of the Council and acting with co-opted members as Publications, Finance, and Library Committee, by smaller and separate bodies. By an amendment to By-law XVI, adopted at the Anniversary Meeting, the Director has been made an *ex-officio* member of Council and the Officers are, in the absence of a special resolution of the Council to the contrary, to be *ex-officio* members of all committees.

The Council have prepared plans to add to the publications of the Society a new series of guides and handbooks in order to afford facilities for the publication of a type of material not represented in the Camden Series. It is proposed to include in the new series such aids to historical research as handbooks of British currency and chronology, a guide to statistical materials for the history of English commerce, 1660–1782, a catalogue and index to printed parliamentary papers 1731–1800, and lists of departmental officials. The preparation of certain of these volumes is already in hand.

By an addition to the By-laws made at the Annual General Meeting a separate Publications account was established.

In pursuance of a report prepared by the Library Committee, the Council have resolved to reorganise the Society's library. Taking into account the great development of library facilities during recent years, the Council were of the opinion that there were no longer any adequate reasons for the maintenance by the Society of a general historical library, particularly when, with the funds and space at its disposal, the Society could never hope to make it at all complete, and they came to the conclusion that the Fellows and the interests of historical studies in general would be more effectively served if the library of the Society were

known for its completeness in some special direction. The Council have therefore decided, while retaining as a separate collection the Lloyd Bequest, to reorganise the library as a library of the texts of British and colonial history, with such works of reference as are essential tools for the use of texts, and, while making the library as nearly as possible complete in this respect, to eliminate such books as do not conform to this plan.

During the past year the library has been enriched by 690 volumes from the library of the late Sir George Prothero, by the purchase of a number of the publications of the Royal Irish Academy, the publications of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Record Society and the episcopal registers of Bath and Wells published by the Somerset Record Society.

The ability of the Society to maintain its previous activities and to support these new projects has been very substantially increased by the Prothero Bequest. On the death of Lady Prothero on April 9, 1934, the Society as residuary legatee of the late Sir George Walter Prothero, who died on July 10, 1922, inherited certain invested moneys, together with the lease of 24 Bedford Square, and the furniture, plate, books, and other articles contained in the house. The Council have reserved for the use of the Society 690 volumes from Sir George Prothero's library and certain articles of library furniture, including a desk and chair used by Sir George Prothero, and a library table. The rest of the contents of the house and the unexpired term of the lease have been disposed of, and from the proceeds of the sale and by investments transferred to the Society, the Society has received by the bequest the approximate sum of £13,555 13*s*. The bequest was made with the intent that the interest on this sum should be employed, first, for the promotion of historical research in modern times; secondly, for the acquisition and maintenance of a library especially of works dealing with the history of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Empire; and, lastly, for other purposes of the Society.

A preliminary meeting of the Society was held on October 12, 1933, when a Discussion on the question of a new edition of Walter of Henley's *Husbandry*, etc., was opened by Professor Eileen Power, D.Lit., Litt.D., F.R.Hist.S.

The following Papers were read and discussed during the Session 1933–34 :—

"The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance." By Professor Edgar Prestage, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S. (November 9, 1933.)

"The Career of Waleran, Count of Meulan and Earl of Worcester (1104–1166)." By G. H. White, F.R.Hist.S. (December 14, 1933.)

"Materials for the History of the Bentivoglio Signoria in Bologna." By Miss C. M. Ady, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (January 11, 1934.)

"The Later Years of General Oglethorpe in England (1743–1785)." By A. A. Ettinger, M.A., D.Phil., Litt.D., F.R.Hist.S. (March 8, 1934.)

"The Law Merchant in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." By Miss L. S. Sutherland, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (April 12, 1934.)

"The Canningite Party." By A. Aspinall, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S. (May 10, 1934.)

The President, Professor F. M. Powicke, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., delivered an Address at the Anniversary Meeting on February 8, 1934, his subject being "Some Problems in the History of the Mediæval University."

The Alexander Medal was awarded to S. B. Chrimes, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., for an Essay entitled "Sir John Fortescue and his Theory of Dominion."

The Presidential Address, with the Alexander Essay and the above Papers—including a report of the Discussion on October 12, 1933, but excluding Dr. Ettinger's paper, which has been published elsewhere—were published in *Transactions*, Fourth Series, Vol. XVII. In addition to the volume of *Transactions*, there was issued in September, 1934, as Vol. XLIX of the Camden series, *British Diplomatic Instructions*, Vol. VII, France, Part iv, edited by L. G. Wickham Legg. The following volumes of publications were in the press on October 31, 1934 :—

Rotuli Parliamentorum Anglie, hactenus inediti. Edited by H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles.

General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks. Vol. III. Edited by W. A. Pantin.

List of British Diplomatic Representatives, 1789–1852. Edited by S. T. Bindoff, Miss Malcolm Smith, and Professor C. K. Webster.

The following publications were partly in the press or in immediate preparation at the above date :—

Camden Miscellany, Vol. XVI.

List of British Diplomatic Representatives, 1509–1689, to include the Section (1644–1688) edited by J. F. Chance.

John of Gaunt's Register, Vols. III and IV. Edited by Dr. Eleanor Lodge.

Considerable progress has been made with the preparation of the *Bibliography of British History, 1715–1789* ; and the Council look forward to publication at an early date.

On Tuesday, July 3, the Society gave an afternoon party. By the courteous permission of the Russell Square Commissioners the gardens of the Square were thrown open to the Society and its guests. The Society's manuscripts and seals were on exhibition. There was a large attendance of Fellows and guests.

Letters of congratulation have been sent to the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece on the celebration of their 50th Anniversary, to the Société de l'Histoire de France, to the University of Catania on the celebration of its 500th Anniversary, and to the Warburg Institute on its settlement in Thames House, Millbank. The President, Dr. Rose Graham, Mr. Charles Johnson and Mr. A. E. Stamp represented the Society at the British Records Association Conference, held on November 13, 1933.

A notice was issued with the Agenda for the Anniversary Meeting held on February 8, 1934, asking the Fellows to communicate to the British Records Association (Preservation Section, 2 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.2) any cases which may come to their knowledge of collections of private documents which through want of accommodation or other causes are likely to be destroyed, as timely notice has saved many manuscripts which will be of great use to the historian. The Council desire again

to call the attention of the Fellows to the importance of the work of the Association.

The rooms of the Society were used for meetings of the British Archæological Association, the Central London Branch of the Historical Association, the Huguenot Society, the Japan Society, the Jersey Society, the Lingard Society and the Royal Numismatic Society.

At the Annual General Meeting held on February 8, 1934, Professor Sir Charles Firth, Professor J. F. Willard and Professor G. M. Wrong were elected Honorary Vice-Presidents. The Vice-Presidents retiring under By-law XVII were J. F. Chance and Charles Johnson. Professor F. M. Stenton and Professor H. W. V. Temperley were elected Vice-Presidents to fill the vacancies. The Members of Council retiring under By-law XVII were Professor J. D. Mackie, H. G. Richardson, Professor A. Hamilton Thompson, Professor H. Hale Bellot, Z. N. Brooke and the Rev. Canon Claude Jenkins. Dr. Irene Churchill and Professor G. S. Veitch were elected Members of Council.

On the nomination of the Council, Professor H. Hale Bellot was elected Honorary Secretary to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Professor Hearnshaw. The Council desire to express their appreciation of the services rendered by Professor Hearnshaw first as Treasurer (1930–1931) and later as Honorary Secretary (1931–1934).

A. E. Stamp was appointed Auditor for the Council and P. W. Chandler and W. T. J. Gun for the Fellows. Owing to absence abroad, Mr. Gun was unable to serve, and at the Ordinary Meeting held on October 11, 1934, Dr. W. T. Whitley was elected Auditor in his place.

The Council has, with regret, to record the deaths of 21 Fellows during the Session, including Professor Emile Bourgeois, a Corresponding Member from 1919 until his death, and Dr. William Page, who acted as Auditor for the Fellows from 1917–28. In addition, 13 Fellows have been lost by resignation, 4 by removal from the roll for non-payment of subscriptions, and 3 Libraries by resignation.

Sixty new Fellows and one Associate were elected, 4 Fellows were reinstated, and 3 Libraries were admitted as subscribing Libraries.

The total membership of the Society on October 31, 1934, was 916 Fellows, including Ordinary, Life, Honorary and Corresponding Fellows, and one Associate. There were 275 subscribing Libraries. Of the Fellows 3 were Honorary, 29 were Corresponding, and 159 were Life Fellows. The net result was an increase of 28 Fellows, one Associate and one Library. There were 68 Societies, British and Foreign, which exchanged *Transactions* with the Royal Historical Society.

The Treasurer reports that the Income of the year ending October 31, 1934, exceeded the Expenditure chargeable against it by £118 16*s*. 4*d*. This figure is not so high as in previous years as the Council have in hand two volumes of the Camden Series, and have moreover placed £200 instead of £100 to the credit of the Pension Fund. The donation of £100 from Mr. W. A. Pantin towards the cost of printing *The General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks* has now been taken into account in the Publications item and therefore disappears from the Balance Sheet. £93 0*s*. 10*d*. has been spent on the Library this year as against £68 6*s*. 1*d*. last year; this increase is due to the expenditure of over £20 for the purchase of Government publications.

The Capital Liabilities (Life Subscriptions £2,870 12*s*., Lease Renewal Fund £716 4*s*. 6*d*., and Pension Fund £899 18*s*. —total £4,486 14*s*. 6*d*.) are much more than covered by the Society's investments, which amount in the Balance Sheet to £5,826 4*s*. 1*d*., with a current market value of £7,479. Besides this there is £913 0*s*. 5*d*. on Deposit at the Bank. The Society can therefore be said to be in a thoroughly sound financial position.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I.—Income of the Year ending October 31, 1934, and the Charges thereon.

Income.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received for year 1932 and 1933	£79 16 0		
Less amount estimated to be received in last year's accounts for subscriptions in arrear	35 0 0		
Subscriptions in arrear, received in excess of estimate	44	16	0
Subscriptions now in arrear estimated to be received	35	0	0
Subscriptions of 1934 :			
„ „ 1 at 20s.	1 0 0		
„ „ 3 at 21s.	3 3 0		
„ „ 260 at 30s.	390 0 0		
„ „ 675 at 42s.	1417 10 0		
	1811	13	0
Life subscriptions	81 18 0		
Less proportion required by By-law IX to be invested (see Balance-sheet)	54 12 0		
	27	6	0
Dividends on Investments	200	7	9
Interest on Deposit Account at Bank	5	16	7
Rentals received	275	2	0
	£2400	1	4

Expenditure (including charges).	£	s.	d.
Publications : Printing, Distributing, Editing and Indexing	£998 14 11		
Less received from Sales	71 16 3		
	926	18	8
Salaries and Wages	692	7	6
Rent of Premises, 22 Russell Square	170	0	0
Coal	14	7	8
Electric Light, Gas, etc.	16	0	9
Rates (Parochial, etc.) and Taxes	176	12	6
General Printing and Stationery	58	4	0
Library : Books, Periodicals, Binding, and Cataloguing	93	0	10
Postages, etc.	42	8	7
Premises, 22 Russell Square : repairs, etc.	19	16	3
Insurance (Fire, National Health, etc.)	11	4	2
Monthly Meetings (cost of Refreshments)	21	14	2
Alexander Medal	3	5	0
Contribution to British Committee of International Congress	15	15	0
Sundries (Petty Cash payments)	19	9	11
	2281	5	0
Balance, being excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ending October 31, 1934, after including the amount owing to Printers for work outstanding and not paid till 1935; carried to Balance-sheet	118	16	4
	£2400	1	4

II.—Balance-sheet of Liabilities and Assets at October 31, 1934.

Liabilities.			£ s. d.
Life subscriptions required to be invested as Capital Account (By-law IX): amount brought forward from last Balance-sheet	£2816 0 0		
Proportion of Life subscriptions received in 1934 (see Income and Expenditure Account)	54 12 0		2870 12 0
Lease Renewal Fund:			
Balance from last Account	488 11 0		
Cost of £200 Conversion Stock 3½%	206 13 6		
Interest received	21 0 0		716 4 6
Fund in aid of Pensions:			
Balance from last account	665 18 0		
Cost of £200 Conversion Stock 3½%	206 0 0		
Interest received	28 0 0		899 18 0
			4486 14 6
[Represented by Consols, India 3½% Stock, Canada 3½% Stock, National Savings Certificates, Conversion Stock 5%, Conversion Stock 4½%, Conversion Stock 3½%, and Cash on Deposit—see *contra*.]			
Subscriptions received in advance			15 3 0
Amount due to Printers			828 0 0
Balance, being surplus of Assets over Liabilities at date, viz., Amount brought forward from last year	£3829 7 11		
Deduct Fund in aid of Pensions (above)	£206 0 0		
Deduct Lease Renewal Fund (above)	206 13 6	412 13 6	
		3416 14 5	
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure, as per Account I		118 16 4	3535 10 9
			£8865 8 3

Assets.			£ s. d.
Consols 2½%, £699 9s. 9d. valued at	£314 0 0		
India 3½% Stock, £900 valued at } in 1920	500 0 0		
Canada 3½% Stock, £300 valued at	200 0 0		
500 National Savings Certificates, at cost	400 0 0		
Conversion Stock 5%, £879 3 6, at cost	826 3 1		
Conversion Stock 4½%, £1220 at cost	1177 2 3		
Conversion Stock 3½%, £2823 0 1 at cost	2408 18 9		5826 4 1
[The market value of the above investments on October 31, 1934, was £7479]			
Cash at Bank: Current Account	£ 90 18 6		
„ Deposit „	913 0 5		
Petty Cash Balance in hand „	0 5 3		1004 4 2
Stock of Publications at Russell Square (value as insured)			100 0 0
Stock of Publications with Printer (value as insured)			500 0 0
Library (value as insured)			1000 0 0
„ Manuscripts (value as insured)			100 0 0
Furniture, etc. „ „			300 0 0
Subscriptions in arrear estimated to be received (see Income and Expenditure Account)			35 0 0
[In addition to the above assets the Society has also received a bequest (as residuary legatee of the late Sir George W. Prothero), of certain invested moneys, together with the lease of 24 Bedford Square, with the furniture, plate, books, etc. This asset will be dealt with in the next annual account submitted to the Fellows.]			
(*Signed*) M. S. Giuseppi, *Hon. Treasurer.*			£8865 8 3

Auditors' Report.

The above Statement of Income and Expenditure and Balance-sheet have been prepared from the Books and Vouchers, and we hereby certify the same to be correct, and to exhibit a true statement of the Society's financial position.

(*Signed*) Pretor W. Chandler
A. E. Stamp
W. T. Whitley
} *Auditors.*

December 11th, 1934.

DAVID BERRY ESSAY TRUST

Under the Will of the late David Anderson-Berry, the Royal Historical Society became the Trustees of a Fund called the David Berry Prize Fund. This is administered for the Charity Commissioners by the Council of the Royal Historical Society. The Fund consists of Securities in the 3½ per cent. Conversion Stock (£464 17*s.* 2*d.*) and New Zealand 4½ per cent. Inscribed Stock 1945 (£518), and the interest on these Securities, together with the charges on this interest, are shown in the Account below.

CASH ACCOUNT.

For the year November 1, 1933, *to October* 31, 1934.

Receipts.			£ s. d.
1933			
Nov. 1.	Balance in hand brought forward from last account, viz.:		
	Petty Cash Balance in Hand.	£ 17 10½	
	Balance in Bank Pass Book .	149 13 1	
			150 10 11½
1934			
March 3.	Cash and Dividend on Investments per Charity Commissioners		11 13 1
April 7.	„ „ „ „		11 2 2
Sept. 5.	„ „ „ „		11 13 1
Oct. 3.	„ „ „ „		11 2 2
			£196 1 5½

Payments.			£ s. d.
1933			
Feb. 11.	Printing		18 0
Oct. 31.	Petty Cash Payments:		
	Postages		7½
			18 7½
Oct. 31.	Balance in hand carried forward, viz.:		
	Petty Cash Balance in Hand	£ 17 3	
	Balance in Bank Pass Book .	194 5 7	
			195 2 10
			£196 1 5½

We have examined the above account and find it correct. (*Signed*) PRETOR W. CHANDLER, A. E. STAMP, W. T. WHITLEY } *Auditors.*

December 11th. 1934.

L. C. ALEXANDER TRUST.

Under the gift of Mr. L. C. Alexander in 1897 a sum of £100 was invested in Russian 4 per cent. Bonds (£98 17*s.* 6*d.*), the interest of which was to purchase a Silver Medal to be awarded yearly for the best essay of not more than 6,000 words. The Russian Bond is at present of no value. The Medal has been purchased yearly out of the funds of the Society.

ALEXANDER PRIZE

The Alexander Prize was established in 1897 by L. C. Alexander, F.R.Hist.S. It consists of a Silver Medal awarded annually for an essay upon some historical subject. Candidates may select their own subject provided such subject has been previously submitted to and approved by the Literary Director. The essay must be a genuine work of original research, not hitherto published, and one which has not been awarded any other prize. It must not exceed 6,000 words in length and must be sent in on or before February 28th.

LIST OF ALEXANDER PRIZE ESSAYISTS (1898–1935) [1]

1898. F. Hermia Durham (" The Relations of the Crown to Trade under James I ").

1899. W. F. Lord, B.A. (" The Development of Political Parties in the reign of Queen Anne ").

1901. Laura M. Roberts (" The Peace of Lunéville ").

1902. V. B. Redstone (" The Social Condition of England during the Wars of the Roses ").

1903. Rose Graham (" The Intellectual Influence of English Monasticism between the tenth and twelfth centuries ").

1904. Enid W. G. Routh (" The Balance of Power in the Seventeenth Century ").

1905. W. A. P. Mason, M.A. (" The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order ").

1906. Rachel R. Reid, M.A. (" The Rebellion of the Earls, 1569 ").

1908. Kate Hotblack (" The Peace of Paris, 1763 ").

1909. Nellie Nield, M.A. (" The Social and Economic Condition of the Unfree Classes in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries ").

[1] No award was made in 1900, 1907, 1910, 1911, 1913, 1914, 1921. The prize Essays for 1909 and 1919 were not published in the *Transactions*. No Essays were submitted in 1915 and 1916.

1912. H. G. Richardson (" The Parish Clergy of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries ").

1917. Isobel D. Thornley, B.A. (" The Treason Legislation of 1531–1534 ").

1918. T. Plucknett, B.A. (" The Place of the Council in the Fifteenth Century ").

1919. Edna F. White, M.A. (" The Jurisdiction of the Privy Council under the Tudors ").

1920. J. E. Neale, M.A. (" The Commons Journals of the Tudor Period ").

1922. C. E. Martin (" The English Establishments on the Gold Coast in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century ").

1923. E. W. Hensman, M.A. (" The Civil War of 1648 in the East Midlands ").

1924. Grace Stretton, B.A. (" Some Aspects of Mediæval Travel ").

1925. F. A. Mace, M.A. (" Devonshire Ports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries ").

1926. Marian J. Tooley, M.A. (" The Authorship of the *Defensor Pacis* ").

1927. W. A. Pantin, B.A. (" Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215–1540 ").

1928. Gladys A. Thornton, B.A., Ph.D. (" A Study in the History of Clare, Suffolk, with special reference to its development as a Borough ").

1929. F. S. Rodkey, A.M., Ph.D. (" Lord Palmerston's Policy for the Re-juvenation of Turkey, 1839-47 ").

1930. A. A. Ettinger, D.Phil. (" The Proposed Anglo-Franco-American Treaty of 1852 to guarantee Cuba to Spain ").

1931. Kathleen A. Walpole, M.A. (" The Humanitarian Movement of the Early Nineteenth Century to Remedy Abuses on Emigrant Vessels to America ").

1932. Dorothy M. Brodie, B.A. (" Edmund Dudley, Minister of Henry VII ").

1933. R. W. Southern, B.A. (" Ranulf Flambard and Early Anglo-Norman Administration ").

1934. S. B. Chrimes, M.A., Ph.D. (" Sir John Fortescue and his Theory of Dominion ").

1935. S. T. Bindoff, M.A. (" The Unreformed Diplomatic Service, 1812–60 ").

DAVID BERRY PRIZE

The David Berry Prize was established in 1929 by David Anderson-Berry in memory of his Father the Reverend David Berry. It consists of a Gold Medal and Money Prize awarded every three years for Scottish History. Candidates may select any subject dealing with Scottish History within the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive, provided such subject has been previously submitted to and approved by the Council of the Royal Historical Society. The Essay must be a genuine work of original research not hitherto published, and one which has not been awarded any other prize. There is no limit to the length of the Essay. It must be sent in on or before October 31st, 1937.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.)

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22 Russell Square, W.C.1.

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Barclays Limited, 9 Russell Square, W.C.1.

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LIST OF FELLOWS OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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Adler, E. N., 20 Porchester Square, W.2.
Ady, Miss C. M., M.A., 40 St. Margaret's Road, Oxford.
Ahmad, Mohammad Basheer, M.A., I.C.S., Judge's House, Jaunpur, U.P., India.
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